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SIR DAVID WILKIE, Bt.

Biographical Dictionary
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH
NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME V.



THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

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A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

ORIGINALLY EDITED BY
ROBERT CHAMBERS.

NEW EDITION, REVISED UNDER THE CARE OF THE PUBLISHERS.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME,
CONTINUING THE BIOGRAPHIES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

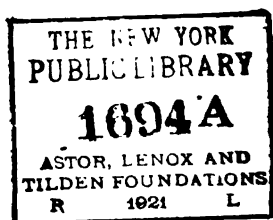
By **THE REV. THOS. THOMSON,**
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS" ETC. ETC.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

DIVISION VIII.
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Wm. W. & A. Smith

London 1841

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with his fowling piece in his hand, and only a few shillings in his pocket, without a friend or letter of introduction, or any definite idea in what manner he was to earn his future livelihood. He, nevertheless, set out cheerily on foot towards Philadelphia—a distance of thirty-three miles—delighted with everything he saw; and it was curious enough, that almost his very first action was shooting a red-headed woodpecker, as if indicative of the nature of his future studies. It ought here to be remarked, that, previously to this time, Wilson had never manifested the slightest disposition to the study of ornithology. On arriving at Philadelphia, an emigrant countryman, a copper-plate printer, (from motives of charity, we presume,) employed him for some weeks at this new profession; but it is probable that both soon grew mutually tired of the agreement. Wilson, at least, speedily relinquished the occupation, and betook himself to his old trade of weaving, at which he persevered for about a twelve-month. Having amassed some little savings, he resumed his old profession of peddler, chiefly with the view of exploring the scenery and society of the country, and traversed the greater part of the State of New Jersey, experiencing considerable success with his pack. Upon his return, he finally abandoned the professions of weaver and peddler, and betook himself to an occupation, which of all others it might be supposed he was the least fitted by education and disposition to undertake, that of a schoolmaster. But it is evident that Wilson adopted this profession, as much as a means of self-improvement, as of a livelihood. His first school was at Frankford, in Pennsylvania: thence he removed to Milestown, where he continued for several years, assiduously cultivating many branches of learning, particularly mathematics and the modern languages: thence to Bloomfield, New Jersey; where he had scarcely settled himself, when (in 1802) he was offered and accepted an engagement with the trustees of a seminary in Kingessing, on the river Schuylkill, about four miles from Philadelphia; and this was the last and most fortunate of all his migrations. During all these eight years of shiftings and wanderings, Wilson's career was almost one continued struggle with poverty, the principal part of his income being acquired by occasional employment in surveying land for the farmers; yet his mind did not, as is usual with most men, become soured or selfish under the incessant pressure of difficulties. On the contrary, he continued to write home such flattering accounts of his adopted country, as to induce his nephew, William Duncan, (whose father was then dead,) to follow him across the Atlantic, with his mother and a large family of brothers and sisters. Wilson was at this time at Milestown; but when he heard of their arrival, he set out on foot for New York, a distance of four hundred miles, for the sole purpose of assisting in getting them comfortably settled. An American biographer says, that, by the kindness of a Mr Sullivan, Wilson was enabled, in conjunction with his nephew, to purchase and stock a small farm, for the accommodation and support of his relatives; after which he returned again on foot to the ungracious labours of the school-room, accomplishing a journey of eight hundred miles in twenty-eight days. To this family he continued ever afterwards to pay the most unremitting and benevolent attention; keeping up a constant correspondence with his nephew, advising and encouraging him amid his difficulties, and even redoubling his own exertions, by keeping a night-school, and other laborious expedients, that he might contribute to the support of the family. "Be assured," he says, in one of his letters to his nephew, "that I will ever as cheerfully contribute to your relief in difficulties, as I will rejoice with you in prosperity. But we have nothing to fear. One hundred bushels of wheat, to be sure, is no great marketing; but has it not been expended in the support of a mother, and infant brothers and sisters, thrown upon your

bounty in a foreign country? Robert Burns, when the mice nibbled away his corn, said

'I'll get a blessing wi' the lave,
And never miss 't.'

Where he expected one, you may expect a thousand. Robin, by his own confession, ploughed up his mice out of 'ha' and hame.' You have built for your wanderers a cozie bield, where none dare molest them. There is more true greatness in the affectionate exertions which you have made for their subsistence and support, than the bloody catalogue of heroes can boast of. Your own heart will speak peace and satisfaction to you, to the last moment of your life, for every anxiety you have felt on their account." Nor did Wilson forget the ties of relationship that still united him to the land of his birth. To his father he wrote fully and regularly; and his letters, both to him and his brother David, are no less replete with sound sense, than ardent affection and excellent moral feeling.

Wilson's removal to Kingessing was the first lucky step towards the attainment of that fame which hallows his memory. His salary was extremely inadequate to his labour, and almost to his subsistence; but this situation introduced him to the patronage of many kind and influential friends, and afforded him opportunities of improving himself which he had never before enjoyed. Amongst the former was William Bartram, the American Linnaeus of the period, in whose extensive gardens and well-stocked library Wilson found new and delightful sources of instruction and enjoyment; and Mr Lawson, the engraver, who initiated him into the mysteries of drawing, colouring, and etching, which afterwards proved of such incalculable use to him when bringing out his *Ornithology*. About this time Wilson tasked his powers to their very utmost in the duties of his school and his efforts at self-improvement. This severe exertion and confinement naturally preyed upon his health and depressed his spirits; but Messrs Bartram and Lawson, who seem to have known little, personally, of the exhausting process of "o'er-informing the tenement of clay," mistook the despondency and lassitude of body and mind thereby occasioned in their friend, for the symptom of incipient madness. This melancholy fact they attributed to his "being addicted to writing verses and playing on the flute;" and it would appear, that, in their efforts to wean him from such perilous habits, they were at little pains to conceal their opinion even from himself. While rambling in the woods one day Wilson narrowly escaped destruction from his gun accidentally falling against his breast when cocked; and in his diary (which he uniformly kept), he blesses God for his escape, as, had he perished, his two worthy friends would undoubtedly have loaded his memory with the imputation of suicide. He complied, however, with their request so far as to substitute drawing for poetry and music; but he attained not the slightest success until he attempted the delineation of birds. This department of the art, to use our old Scottish expression, "came as readily to his hand as the bowl of a pint stoup," and he soon attained such perfection as wholly to outstrip his instructors. His success in this new employment seems to have first suggested the idea of his ornithological work, as we see from letters to his friends in 1803, that he first mentions his purpose of "making a collection of all our finest birds." Upon submitting his intentions to Messrs Bartram and Lawson, these gentlemen readily admitted the excellence of his plan, but started so many difficulties to its accomplishment, that, had Wilson been a man of less nerve, or confidence in his own powers, he would have abandoned the idea in despair. But he treated their remonstrances with

indifference, or something more like scorn: he resolved to proceed at all risks and hazards, and, for some time afterwards, busily employed himself in collecting all the rarer specimens of birds in his own neighbourhood. In October, 1804, he set out, accompanied by his nephew Duncan, and another individual, upon an expedition to the Falls of Niagara, which wondrous scene, according to his own account, he gazed upon with an admiration almost amounting to distraction. On their return, the three friends were overtaken by the storms of winter. Wilson's companions successively gave in, and left him at different parts of their route; but he himself toiled on through the mud and snow, encumbered with his gun and fowling bag, the latter of which was of course always increasing in bulk, and arrived safely at home, after an absence of fifty-nine days, during which he had walked nearly 1260 miles, 47 of which were performed the last day. Instead of being daunted by the fatigues and hardships of the journey, we find him writing an account of it to his friends with something like exultation, and delightedly contemplating future expeditions of the like nature; and this when his whole stock of money amounted to three-fourths of a dollar! For some time after his return, he amused himself with penning a poetical narrative of his journey, called "*The Foresters*," (afterwards published;) a piece much superior to any of his former descriptive poems, and containing many even sublime apostrophes. From this time forward, Wilson applied his whole energies to his ornithological work, drawing, etching, and colouring all the plates himself, for he had in vain endeavoured to induce his cautious friend Mr Lawson, to take any share in the undertaking. In the spring of 1806, a favourable opportunity seemed to present itself for prosecuting his researches, by a public intimation being given of the intention of president Jefferson to despatch parties of scientific men to explore the district of Louisiana. At Wilson's request, Mr Bartram, who was intimate with the president, wrote to him, mentioning Wilson's desire, character, and acquirements, and strongly recommending his being employed in the proposed survey. Wilson also wrote a respectful and urgent letter to Jefferson, detailing the extensive plans of his work, and explaining all his proceedings and views. To these applications the president *vouchsafed not one word in reply*; a circumstance which convinced Wilson more and more—nor did he shrink from the conviction—that he must stand self-sustained in the executing of his great national undertaking. But his intrinsic and sterling merits soon procured him a patronage which to his independent mind was, perhaps, infinitely more gratifying than the condescending favours of a great man. He received a liberal offer from Mr Bradford, a bookseller of Philadelphia, to act as assistant editor in bringing out a new edition of *Rees's Cyclopædia*, and he gladly relinquished the toilsome and ill-rewarded duties of a schoolmaster to betake himself to his new employment. Soon after this engagement, he laid before Mr Bradford the plan of his *Ornithology*, with the specimens of composition and delineation which he had already executed; and that gentleman was so satisfied of Wilson's ability to complete it, that he at once agreed to run all the risk of publication. All obstacles to the fulfilment of his great design being now removed, Wilson applied himself night and day to his double task of author and editor, occasionally making a pedestrian excursion into various districts for the benefit at once of his health (which was beginning to decay) and of his great work. At length, in 1808, the first volume of the *American Ornithology* made its appearance, and, much as the public had been taught to expect from the advertisements and prospectuses previously issued, the work far exceeded in splendour anything that had ever been seen in the country before. Immediately on its publication, the author set out on an ex-

pedition through the eastern states, with the design of exhibiting his book and soliciting subscribers. It is not our purpose to trace his course in this journey, wherein he encountered hardships, vexations, and disappointments innumerable, but insufficient to check his ardour. The extent of his journey may be guessed at from the following extract from one of his letters when about to return:—"Having now visited all the towns within one hundred miles of the Atlantic, from Maine to Georgia, and done as much for this bantling book of mine, as ever author did for any progeny of his brain, I now turn my wishful eyes towards home." Upon the whole the result of his expedition was unsuccessful, for although he received most flattering marks of respect wherever he went, the sacrifice of 120 dollars (for the ten volumes) proved a sad check upon the enthusiasm of his admirers. His letters to his friends, in which a full account of every part of this, as well as his subsequent journeys is given, are in the highest degree interesting. In 1810, the second volume was published, and Wilson immediately set out for Pittsburg, on his way to New Orleans for the same purpose as before. On reaching Pittsburg, he was puzzled to think by what means he should descend the Ohio; but at last determined, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, to voyage it in a small boat alone. He accordingly bought a *batteau*, which he named the *Ornithologist*, put in a small stock of provisions and water, (he never carried spirits with him,) with his never-failing fowling piece and ammunition, and pushed off into the stream for a solitary voyage of between 500 and 600 miles. This was exactly such a situation as was calculated to arouse all the romantic feelings of Wilson's soul: the true lover of nature experiences a delight approaching to ecstasy when alone in the uninhabited desert. But the whole tract of his journey was rich with the objects most attractive to the lonely voyager; he collected an immense stock of ornithological riches for his future volumes, and amused his mind at his hours of repose with the composition of a descriptive poem entitled "The Pilgrim." He reached New Orleans on the 6th of June, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 2nd of August, having been travelling since the beginning of January; during which time his whole expenses did not amount to 500 dollars. This was the most extensive of all Wilson's excursions, and although he took several others to various districts, as the volumes of the *Ornithology* successively appeared, we do not think it necessary here to advert to them particularly. Writing to his brother David, a year or two afterwards, in reference to these exertions to further the sale of his works, he says: "By the first opportunity I will transmit a trifle to our old father, whose existence, so far from being forgotten, is as dear to me as my own. But David, an ambition of being distinguished in the literary world, has required sacrifices and exertions from me with which you are unacquainted; and a wish to reach the glorious rock of independence, that I might from thence assist my relations, who are struggling with and buffeting the billows of adversity, has engaged me in an undertaking more laborious and extensive than you are aware of, and has occupied every moment of my time for several years. Since February 1810, I have slept for several weeks in the wilderness alone, in an Indian country, with my gun and my pistols in my bosom; and have found myself so reduced by sickness as to be scarcely able to stand, when not within 300 miles of a white settlement, and under the burning latitude of 25 degrees. I have, by resolution, surmounted all these and other obstacles, in my way to my object, and now begin to see the blue sky of independence open around me."

Wilson's reputation, indeed, and the merits of his great undertaking, had now forced themselves into notice, not only in America, but throughout

all Europe, and one of his biographers says, that there was not a crowned head in the latter quarter of the globe but had then become a subscriber to the *American Ornithology*. Honours as well as profit began to pour in upon him. In 1812, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, and subsequently of other learned bodies. In 1813, the literary materials for the eighth volume of the *Ornithology* were ready at the same time that the seventh was published. But its progress was greatly retarded for want of proper assistants to colour the plates, those whom he could procure aiming rather at a caricature than a copy of nature. He was at last obliged to undertake the whole of this department himself in addition to his other duties, and these multifarious labours, by drawing largely upon his hours of rest, began rapidly to exhaust his constitution. When his friends remonstrated with him upon the danger of his severe application, he answered, "Life is short, and without exertion nothing can be performed." A fatal dysentery at last seized him, which, after a few days' illness, carried him off, upon the 23rd of August, 1813, being then only in his forty-eighth year. According to the authority of an American gentleman who was intimate with him, his death was accelerated by an incident in singular keeping with the scientific enthusiasm of his life. While sitting in the house of one of his friends, he happened to see a bird of a rare species, and which he had been long seeking for in vain, fly past the window. He immediately rushed out of the house, pursued the bird across a river, over which he was compelled to swim, shot and returned with the bird, but caught an accession of cold which carried him off. He was buried next day in the cemetery of the Swedish church in the district of Southwark, Philadelphia, with all the honours which the inhabitants could bestow on his remains. The clergy and all the public bodies walked in procession, and wore crape on their arms for thirty days. A simple marble monument was placed over him, stating shortly the place and year of his birth, the period of his emigration to America, and the day and cause of his death.

The whole plates for the remainder of the *Ornithology* having been completed under Wilson's own eye, the letter-press of the ninth volume was supplied by his friend Mr George Ord, who had been his companion in several of his expeditions, as also a memoir of the deceased naturalist. There have been few instances, indeed, where the glowing fire of genius was combined with so much strong and healthy judgment, warmth of social affection, and correct and pure moral feeling, as in the case of Alexander Wilson. The benevolence and kindness of his heart sparkle through all his writings, and it is cheering to the true Christian to observe, that his religious principles became purified and strengthened in proportion to the depth of his researches into the organization of nature. He is said to have been strikingly handsome in person, although rather slim than robust, with a countenance beaming with intelligence, and an eye full of animation and fire. His career furnishes a remarkable example of the success which, sooner or later, is the reward of perseverance. It is true he did not attain riches, but upon the possession of these his happiness was not placed. He wished, to use his own words, "to raise some beacon to show that such a man had lived," and few have so completely achieved the object of their ambition. Wilson's father survived him three years.

Three supplementary volumes of the *Ornithology*, containing delineations of American birds not described by Wilson, have been published by Charles Lucien Bonaparte. In 1832, an edition of the *American Ornithology*, with illustrative notes, and a Life of Wilson, by Sir William Jardine, was published in London, in three volumes.

WILSON, FLORENCE, an author of some note, was born on the banks of the Lossie, near Elgin, about the year 1500. He is commonly known by his Latinized name of Florentius Volusenus, which has been usually translated Wilson, though it is doubted whether his name was not Wolsey, Willison, Williamson, or Volusene. He studied at Aberdeen, and afterwards repaired to England, where cardinal Wolsey appointed him preceptor to his nephew. Accompanied by the latter he went to Paris, where, after the death of Wolsey and the consequent loss of his pupil, he found another patron in cardinal du Bellai, archbishop of Paris. Along with this prelate he intended to visit Rome, but was prevented by illness, and was left behind at Avignon. Here he recommended himself by his scholarship to cardinal Sadolet, who procured for him the appointment of teacher of Latin and Greek in the public school of Carpentras. He is best known by his dialogue "*De Animi Tranquillitate*," which was published at Lyons in 1543, and reprinted at Edinburgh in 1571, 1707, and 1751. Wilson died at Vienne, in Dauphiny, in 1547, when returning to his native land. Several other works have been ascribed to him besides the well known dialogue, but the works themselves are not extant. His death was celebrated by Buchanan in the following epigram:—

"His Munis, Volusene, jaces carissime, ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria!
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quæ foret alitrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos."

WINRAM, JOHN, superintendent of Fife and Strathern, was descended of the Fifeshire family of the Winrams of Ratho. He is supposed to have entered the university of St Andrews (St Leonard's college) in 1513, and in 1515 he took the degree of B. A., on which occasion he is designated a pauper; that is, one who paid the lowest rate of fees. From that period till 1532, no trace has been discovered of him, but at the last mentioned date he is noticed under the title of "*Canonicum ac baccalarium in Theologia*" as one of the rector's assessors, and in a deed dated the same year he is called a canon regular of the monastery of St Andrews. Two years afterwards he is mentioned as third prior, and in 1536, as subprior, in which situation he continued till the Reformation.

The first occasion on which we have found Mr John Winram making a public appearance was the trial of George Wishart, the martyr. On that occasion he was appointed to open the proceedings by a sermon, and he accordingly preached on the parable of the wheat and tares: he mentioned that the word of God is "the only and undoubted foundation of trying heresy without any superadded traditions," but held that heretics should be put down,—a position strangely inconsistent with the command to let the tares and wheat grow together till harvest. About the same period, archbishop Hamilton ordered the subprior to call a convention of Black and Grey friars for the discussion of certain articles of heretical doctrine. At this meeting, John Knox demanded from Winram a public acknowledgment of his opinion, whether these heretical articles were consistent or inconsistent with God's word; but this the wary subprior avoided. "I came not here as a judge," he replied, "but familiarly to talk, and therefore I will neither allow nor disallow, but if ye list, I will reason;" and accordingly he did reason, till Knox drove him from all his positions, and he then laid the burden upon Arbuckle, one of the friars. Winram attended the provincial councils of the Scottish clergy, held in 1549 and 1559, and, on the first of these occasions at least, took an active part in the proceedings. Thus, up to the very period of the establishment of the Reformation, he

continued to act a decided part with the catholic clergy. "There have been, and are," says Wedrow, "some of God's children, and hidden ones, in Babylon, * * * and no doubt Mr Winram was useful even in this period." May it not be asked, whether he did not, by a bad example, and a pertinacious adherence to a system which he knew to be erroneous, greatly more weaken the hands of his brethren, than he could possibly strengthen them by his private exertions?

Winram, as prior of Portmoak, attended the parliament of August, 1560, which ratified the protestant Confession of Faith. The first General Assembly held in December following, declared him fit for and apt to minister the word and sacraments; and on Sunday, April 13, 1561, he was elected superintendent of Fife, Fethwick, and Strathern, "be the common consent of lordis, baronis, ministeris, elderis, of the saidis bowndis, and etheris common pepill," &c. The transactions in which he was engaged in this capacity present so little variety that we shall merely take a short general view of them.

One of Winram's earliest acts as superintendent was the reversal of a sentence of condemnation which had been passed on Sir John Borthwick, in 1540, for heresy. This gentleman had saved himself by flight, but appears to have returned to Scotland in or before 1560, for, at the first General Assembly, we find one of the members "presented by Sir Jeha Borthwick to the kirks of Aberdeen and Torrie." It is sufficiently singular that Winram was one of "those plain enemies to the truth" described in the reversal of the sentence, who had assisted at the trial and condemnation of the man whom he even then must have considered as a friend, although he had not the courage or the honesty to avow it. The notices of Winram in the records of the General Assembly consist, almost without exception, of complaints against him for negligence in visiting the district or diocese committed to his charge.¹ This is a charge which was brought more or less frequently against all the superintendents: the people on the one hand seem to have been unreasonable in their expectations, and the government, beyond all question, gave the clergy but little encouragement by a liberal or even moderate provision for their wants. In Winram's case, however, the frequency of these complaints leaves on the mind a suspicion that he was to a considerable extent in fault, and, on one occasion at least, the complaint was accompanied with a charge of a covetous, worldly-minded disposition,—a charge which circumstances we shall mention in our general remarks on his character lead us to conclude were not unfounded. He was several times employed in reconciling party and private disputes. In 1571, he was ordered by the General Assembly to inhibit Mr John Douglas, who was appointed archbishop of St Andrews, to vote in parliament in name of the church. In January, 1572, he attended the convention at Leith, at which Tulchan bishops were authorized, and in the following month he was employed as superintendent of the bounds to inaugurate the archbishop of St Andrews. There are no subsequent notices of him of the slightest interest or importance. He died on the 18th or 28th of September, 1582, (the date seems uncertain,) leaving by his will James Winram and John Winram of Craigton, sons of Mr Robert Winram of Ratho his brother, his principal heirs.

The character of Winram is by no means free from suspicion. He was an early convert to the protestant doctrines, but he neither abandoned his situation nor emoluments in the catholic church; he did not, like almost all his brother superintendents, expose himself to danger or to suffering by a public profes-

¹ These charges were brought forward in December, 1562; December, 1564; December, 1565; December, 1567; July, 1569; July, 1570; March, 1572.

sion of his sentiments, and when Knox, at the meeting of the Black and Grey friars, demanded whether he conscientiously considered the doctrines then called heretical contrary to God's word, he not only evaded the question, but argued on the popish side; he assisted at the trials of at least two of the reformers, of whom one suffered, and the other only saved himself by flight. It may perhaps be said that Winram expected to be thus able to advance the reformation more effectually than by an open abandonment or opposition of the popish church, but this is an argument which would in any case be liable to strong suspicion, and which in Winram's is rendered everything but inadmissible by the other facts which are known respecting him. The truth seems to be, and candour requires that it should be stated, that he generally displayed a covetous, interested disposition. On this account he was sometimes treated with no great respect, even by persons of inferior rank: one person, indeed, was charged in 1561, before the kirk session of St Andrews, with saying that he was a "fale, dissaitful, greedy, and disemblit smaik, for he wes one of them that maist oppressed, emored, and held down the word [kirk?] of God, and now he is cum into it and professes the same for greediness of geir, lurkand and watchand quhill he may se ane other tym." Nor does he seem to have possessed in any considerable degree the confidence of his clerical brethren. It has been remarked that, in the records of the proceedings of the first General Assembly, his name appears but seventeenth on the list of persons considered fit to minister, and is placed after those of men greatly his juniors. This is a circumstance which mere accident may have occasioned, and is not of itself entitled to much consideration; but of one fact there can be no doubt, that in the whole course of thirty-six Assemblies, which, according to Wodrow, he attended, he was never appointed moderator, nor intrusted even with a share in the management of their more important transactions.

Winram married Margaret Stewart, widow of Ayton of Kindaldy, but she predeceased him without having any family except by her first husband. Many passages in the books of the commissariot of St Andrews show that the superintendent and his wife's sons were on indifferent terms, and leave one not without suspicion that he made some attempt to deprive them of their just rights or property. In the remarks which we have made on this and other parts of his conduct we have been actuated by no other motive but a desire to draw a fair and impartial conclusion from the facts which time has spared to us. At the same time, we are sensible, and we mention it in justice to the memory of Winram and many others, that, did the history of the period admit a fuller investigation, considerations might arise which would probably place many transactions in a different point of view.* The only work known to have been written by Winram is a catechism, which has long disappeared, and of which not even a description is now known to exist.

WISHART, GEORGE, a distinguished protestant martyr, was probably the son of James Wishart, of Pitarro, justice-clerk to James V. He is supposed to have studied at Montrose, where he himself gave instructions for some time in the Greek language; a circumstance which, considering the state of Greek learning in Scotland at the time reflects distinguished honour on his literary character. But there were men in power by whom it was reckoned heresy to give instructions in the original language of the New Testament. Owing to the persecution he received from the bishop of Brechin and cardinal Beaton, he left the country in 1538. His history during the three following years is little known. It appears that, having preached at Bristol against the worship and mediation of the Virgin, he was condemned for that alleged

* Abridged from Wodrow's Biographical Collections, printed by the Maitland Club, i.

heresy, recanted his opinions, and burnt his fagot in the church of St Nicholas in that city. Probably he afterwards travelled on the continent. In 1543, he was at Cambridge, as we learn from the following description quoted by the biographer of Knox,¹ from a letter of Emery Tylney. "About the yeare of our Lord a thousand, five hundreth, forty and three, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Maister George Wishart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's colledge, who was a tall man, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholye complexion by his physiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lonely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travailed. Having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantill frieze gowne to the shoes, a black milliard fustian dublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvase for his shirtee, and white falling bandes and cuffes at the hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked; saving his French cappe, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man, modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse; for his charitie had never ende, night, noone, nor daye. He forbare one meale, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, coarse new canvase sheetes, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himself. He taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have alaine him; but the Lord was his defence. And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation, amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poore boy, that he might have finished that he had begunne! His learning, no less sufficient than his desire, always preat and readie to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publikely, profusing and reading diverse authors."

Wishart returned to Scotland in July, 1543, in company with the commissioners who had been despatched for the negotiation of the marriage treaty with Henry VIII.² From these individuals, many of whom were attached to the reformed doctrines, he had probably received assurances of safety for his person: it is at least certain that, from the time of his entering the country till his death, he was under their protection, and usually in the presence of one or more of them. The chief laymen of the protestant party at this period were the earls Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marischal, Sir George Douglas, and the lairds of Brunstain, Ormiston, and Calder. They were in secret alliance with the king of England, and, at his instigation, several of them formed designs for assassinating cardinal Beaton, whose powerful genius was the chief obstacle to their views.

Thus countenanced, Wishart preached to large audiences in Montrose and Dundee, causing, at the latter of these places, the destruction of the houses of the Black and Grey friars. The authorities having interfered to preserve the peace, Wishart left the town, but not till he had given a public testimony to the friendly nature of his intentions, and the danger that would be incurred by those who refused to hear the truth which he proclaimed. He then proceeded

¹ Dr M'Crie, *Life of Knox*.

² Knox, in his *Historie of the Reformation*, says 1544; but it is satisfactorily proved that the commissioners returned in 1543: and hence, as it is more likely that a mistake would arise in the date than in the circumstance, we assume the latter year, as a correction upon Knox's statement.

to the west of Scotland, and for some time preached successfully. But in the town of Ayr, he found the church preoccupied by the bishop of Glasgow; in consequence of which he proceeded to the market-cross, "where," says Knox, "he made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded." He also preached frequently at Galston and Bar. At Mauchline he was prevented from officiating, by the sheriff of Ayr "causing to man the church, for preservation of a tabernacle that was there beautiful to the eye." Wishart, refusing to yield to the solicitations of some who urged him to enter forcibly, exclaimed, "Christ Jesus is as mighty upon the fields as in the church; and I find that he himself, after he preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane then, he did so in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sends by me—the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." Thereafter he preached in the neighbourhood, so as to produce a wonderful reformation on a gentleman of abandoned character. But while engaged in this part of Scotland, he heard that the plague was raging in Dundee. The devoted preacher hastened thither. In the midst of the disease and misery of the people, he preached so as to be heard both within and without the town, many of the sick being beyond the gate, on these appropriate words, "He sent his sword and healed them;" adding, "It is neither herb nor plaster, O Lord, but thy word healeth all." This discourse produced a very general and powerful impression. He continued to preach and visit the sick with singular benevolence; and, besides the infection of the disease, to which he was constantly exposed, he was, on one occasion, liable to danger from a priest, who had been commissioned to assassinate him. The people, on discovering the dagger which he held in his hand at the conclusion of one of Wishart's sermons, were inflamed with passion, but the latter embraced him, with these friendly words, "whosoever troubles him shall trouble me, for he hath hurt me in nothing; but he hath done great comfort to you and me, to wit, he hath let us to understand what we may fear: in times to come we will watch better." The truth appears to be, that Beaton, being fully apprized of the designs of Wishart's friends against his own life, had thought proper to form similar designs against that of a preacher who was perpetually in the company, and in all probability in the confidence of his own enemies, and whose eloquence was threatening his church with destruction. Whether this was the case or not, there can be no doubt that the cardinal now made all possible efforts to apprehend Wishart. The preacher, therefore, never moved in any direction without a tried adherent, who bore a two-handed sword before him; nor did he ever preach except under a strong guard of friendly barons and their retainers. Knox at one time officiated in the character of sword-bearer to his friend.

From Dundee he returned to Montrose, where he spent some time, occupied partly in preaching, "but most part in secret meditation." At Dundee, which he now revisited, he uttered a memorable prediction of future glory to the reformed church in Scotland. "This realm," said he, "shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel as clearly as ever any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it; yet it shall not lack, whatsoever the enemy may imagine in the contrary, the very keystone." For this and other anticipations of the future, Wishart received the credit of a prophet among his followers; nor have writers been wanting in the present age to maintain that he really possessed this ideal accomplishment. It is impossible, however, for a reasonable mind to see anything in the above prediction, beside the sanguine expectations of a partisan respecting his own favourite objects. As for the rest of Wishart's predictions, which generally consisted in

the announcement of coming vengeance, Mr Tytler, who enjoyed the advantage of a closer inspection of the secret history of the period, than any preceding writer, presents the following theory,³ to which we can see little chance of any valid objection being started:—"He enjoyed, it is to be remembered, the confidential intimacy, nay, we have reason to believe that his councils influenced the conduct, of Cassillis, Glencairn, Brunstain, and the party which were now the advisers of Henry's intended hostilities; a circumstance which will sufficiently account for the obscure warnings of the preacher, without endowing him with inspiration." It is to be remarked that in calling upon the people to embrace the reformed doctrines, and threatening them with temporal destruction if they refused, he was speculating only upon the natural course of events: he must have known that to continue attached to the ancient faith, which was equivalent to a resistance against the English match, was sure to bring the vengeance of Henry upon the country, while an opposite conduct was calculated to avert his wrath.

While at Dundee, Wishart received a message from the earl of Cassillis and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham, requesting him to meet them in Edinburgh, where they intended to make interest that he should have a public disputation with the bishops. On arriving at Leith, he did not, as expected, immediately find his friends, so that, "beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit," from the inactive life to which he was submitting, he preached in Leith, from which, as the governor and cardinal were expected in Edinburgh, he went to the country, residing successively in Brunstain, Longniddry, and Ormiston, the proprietors of which, as well as many other gentlemen of Lothian, were zealous in the cause of reformation. At this time he preached, with much effect in Inverkeithing and Tranent, and, during the holidays of Christmas, 1545, he proceeded to Haddington. Here he preached several sermons. Before delivering the last of them, he received information that the conference to which he had been invited in Edinburgh could not be fulfilled. This greatly distressed him, and the smallness of his audience on the present occasion added to his depression. Having, for more than half an hour walked about in front of the high altar, he proceeded to the pulpit, where his sermon commenced with the following words: "O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been, at any vain clerk play, two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the Eternal God, of all the town or parish, cannot be numbered one hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue upon this thy contempt; with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued." He then proceeded to particularize the kind of troubles which should fall on Haddington, and which actually did befall it shortly afterwards. Parting with several of his friends, and even with John Knox, to whom, on his wishing to accompany him, he said, "Nay, return to your children, and God bless you; one is sufficient for one sacrifice," he went, with the proprietor, to Ormiston. At night, the earl of Bothwell came to the house, and, intimating the approach of the governor and the cardinal, advised Ormiston to deliver Wishart to him, promising that he should be safe. Wishart was willing to accede to these terms. "Open the gates," said he, "the blessed will of my God be done." Bothwell's promises were renewed, and his attendants joined him in his protestations. But they proceeded with Wishart to Elphinstown, where Beaton was; and the preacher, having been sent to the capital, and thence brought back to Hailes, lord Bothwell's seat, was at last committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh. He was soon

³ History of Scotland, v. 414.

after sent to St Andrews, by the cardinal, who, assisted by Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, prepared for the trial of the reformer.

On the 1st of March, 1545-6, the dignitaries of the church assembled at St Andrews, when Beaton, being refused the presence of a civil judge by the governor, determined to proceed on his own authority. The alleged heretic, being arraigned on a series of charges, defended himself meekly but firmly, and with a profound knowledge of scripture. The result, as was to be expected, was his condemnation to the stake. On the 28th, he was led from the prison, with a rope about his neck, and a large chain round his middle, to the place of execution, in front of the castle, which was the archi-episcopal palace of the cardinal. "Here a scaffold had been raised,⁴ with a high stake firmly fixed in the midst of it. Around it were piled bundles of dry faggots; beside them stood an iron grate containing the fire; and near it the solitary figure of the executioner. Nor did it escape the observation of the dense and melancholy crowd which had assembled, that the cannon of the fortress were brought to bear directly on the platform, whilst the gunners stood with their matches beside them; a jealous precaution, suggested perhaps by the attempt of Duncan to deliver the martyr Hamilton, and which rendered all idea of rescue in this case perfectly hopeless. On arriving at the place, Wishart beheld these horrid preparations, which brought before him the agony he was to suffer, with an unmoved countenance; mounted the scaffold firmly, and addressed a short speech to the people, in which he exhorted them not to be offended at the word of God, by the sight of the torments which it seemed to have brought upon its preacher, but to love it, and to suffer patiently for it any persecution which the sin of unbelieving men might suggest. He declared that he freely forgave all his enemies, not excepting the judges who had unjustly condemned him." Having signified his forgiveness to the executioner, he was tied to the stake, and the flame began to encompass the holy martyr. "It torments my body," said he to his friend, the captain of the castle, "but no way abates my spirit;" then, looking up to a window, from which the cardinal was contemplating the scene, he said, "He who, in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy, as he now leaneth there in pride." On this, the executioner drew a cord which had been fastened round the neck of the sufferer, who shortly afterwards expired amidst the flames. The prediction of the dying martyr was literally fulfilled within three months after, by the violent and ignominious death of his persecutor. The admirable biographer of Knox and Melville has recorded this just and comprehensive eulogium on the character of the martyr:—"Excelling," says Dr M'Crie, "the rest of his countrymen at that period in learning; of the most persuasive eloquence; irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners; his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity."

WISHART, or WISEHEART, GEORGE, a learned divine, and admired writer of the seventeenth century, was of the family of Logy in Forfarshire. He is said to have been born in East Lothian in 1609, and to have studied at the university of Edinburgh. Previously to the breaking out of the religious troubles in the reign of Charles I. he was one of the ministers of St Andrews.¹ Being prepossessed, like the most of the men of family connected with the east coast of Scotland, in favour of episcopacy, he refused to take the covenant, and

⁴ We here quote the animated description of Mr Tytler.

¹ Keith in his Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, says North Leith; but this appears to be a mistake.

was accordingly deposed by the Assembly of 1639, in company with his colleague Dr Gladstones, the celebrated Samuel Rutherford and Mr Robert Blair coming in their places. Having been subsequently detected in a correspondence with the royalists, Wishart was plundered of all his worldly goods, and thrown into a dungeon called the Thieves' Hole, said to have been the most nauseous part of one of the most nauseous prisons in the world, the old tolbooth of Edinburgh. Wishart himself tells us that, for his attachment to royalty and episcopacy, he thrice suffered spoliation, imprisonment, and exile, before the year 1647. In October, 1644, he was taken by the Scottish army at the surrender of Newcastle, in which town he had officiated professionally. On this occasion, he suffered what appears to have been his third captivity. In January, 1645, he is found petitioning the estates from the tolbooth, for maintenance to himself, his wife, and five children, who otherwise, he says, must starve :² the petition was remitted to the Committee of Monies, with what result does not appear. A few months afterwards, when Montrose had swept away the whole military force of the covenanters, and was approaching the capital in triumph, Wishart was one of a deputation of cavalier prisoners, whom the terrified citizens sent to him to implore his clemency. He seems to have remained with the marquis as his chaplain, during the remainder of the campaign, and to have afterwards accompanied him abroad in the same capacity. This connexion suggested to him the composition of an account of the extraordinary adventures of Montrose, which was published in the original Latin at Paris in 1647. His chief object in this work, as he informs us in a modest preface, was to vindicate his patron from the aspersions which had been thrown upon him by his enemies ; to clear him from the charges of cruelty and irreligion, which had been brought against him by the covenanters, and show him as the real hero which he was. Whatever might be the reputation of Montrose in Scotland, this work is said to have given it a very enviable character on the continent. "To the memoir," says the publisher of the English translation of 1756, "may be in a great measure ascribed that regard and notice which was had of Montrose, not only in France, where the proscribed queen then held her thin-attended court, and where it was first published, but likewise in Germany, and most of the northern courts of Europe, which he soon after visited. That peculiar elegance of expression, and animated description, with which it abounds, soon attracted the regard of the world, and in a few years carried it through several impressions both in France and Holland."

Proportioned to the estimation in which the work was held by the persecuting party, was the detestation with which it was regarded by the Scottish covenanters. Those daring and brilliant exploits which formed the subject of its panegyric could never be contemplated by the sufferers in any other light than as inhuman massacres of the Lord's people ; and he whom cardinal de Retz likened to the heroes of Plutarch, was spoken of in his own country in no other terms than as "that bloody and excommunicate traitor." An appropriate opportunity of showing their abhorrence of the book was presented within a very few years after its publication, when Montrose, having fallen into their hands, was ordered to be executed with all possible marks of odium and degradation. Over the gay dress he assumed on that occasion, they hung from his neck the obnoxious volume, together with the declaration he had published on commencing his last and fatal expedition ; the one hanging at the right shoulder, and the other at the left, while a cincture, crossing the back and breast, kept them at their proper places. As this ceremonial was made matter for a parliamentary decree, there can be little doubt that the Scottish presbyterians

² Balfour's Annals, iii. 261.

conceived it to be a not unbecoming mode of expressing contempt for the eulogies of the biographer. Upon Montrose, however, it produced no such effect as they had calculated on. His remark, long since become a part of history, is thus given by Wishart in the sequel to his memoir: "That though it had pleased his majesty to create him a knight of the garter, yet he did not reckon himself more honoured thereby than by the cord and the books which were now hung about his neck, and which he embraced with greater joy and pleasure than he did the golden chain and the garter itself when he first received them."

While his work was receiving this memorable honour, the author remained at the Hague, where a body of commissioners from Scotland were endeavouring to induce the young and exiled king (Charles II.) to assume the government of that kingdom upon the terms of the covenant. To these personages, Wishart, as might be supposed, was by no means an agreeable object, particularly as he happened to enjoy the royal favour. Clarendon, who was there at the time, relates the following anecdote:—"A learned and worthy Scotch divine, Dr Wishart, being appointed to preach before the king, they [the commissioners] formally besought the king, 'that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland for having refused to take the covenant,' though it was known that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine, was, that they knew he was author of that excellent relation of the lord Montrose's actions in Scotland, which made those of his majesty's council full of indignation at their insolence; and his majesty himself declared his being offended, by hearing the doctor preach with the more attention."

Dr Wishart subsequently wrote a continuation of the memoirs of Montrose, bringing down his history till his death: this, however, was never published in its original form. The original book was printed oftener than once, and in various places, on the continent. A coarse translation appeared in London in 1652, under the title of "*Montrose Redivivus*," &c., and was reprinted in 1720, with a translation of the second part, then for the first time given to the world. A superior translation of the whole, with a strong Jacobite preface, was published at Edinburgh by the Ruddimans in 1756, and once more, in the same place, by Archibald Constable and Company in 1819.

After the fall of Montrose, Dr Wishart became chaplain to Elizabeth, the electress-palatine, sister of Charles I.; he accompanied that princess to England in 1660, and being recognized as one who had both done and suffered much in the cause of royalty, was selected as one of the new bishops for the kingdom of Scotland, being appointed to the see of Edinburgh. He had now, therefore, the satisfaction of returning to the scene of his former sufferings, in the most enviable character of which his profession rendered him capable. He was consecrated bishop of Edinburgh, June, 1, 1662. It is recorded of Wishart, that, after the suppression of the ill-concerted rising at Pentland, he interested himself to obtain mercy for the captive insurgents; and, remembering his own distresses in the prison which they now occupied, never sat down to a meal till he had sent off the first dish to these unfortunate men. From these anecdotes it may be inferred that whatever were the faults of his character, he possessed a humane disposition. Bishop Wishart died in 1671, when his remains were interred in the abbey church of Holyrood, where a handsome monument, bearing an elaborate panegyrical inscription in Latin to his memory, may yet be seen.

Bishop Keith says of Wishart that he was "a person of great religion." Wodrow speaks of him as a man who could not refrain from profane swearing, even on the public street, and as a known drunkard. "He published somewhat

in divinity," says the historian, "but then I find it remarked by a very good hand, his lascivious poems, compared with which the most luscious parts of Ovid *de Arte Amandi* are modest, gave scandal to all the world." It is not unlikely that Dr Wishart had contracted some rather loose habits among the cavaliers with whom he associated abroad; for both Burnet and Kirkton bear testimony to the licentious manners by which the royalists were too often characterised, more especially during the reckless administration of the earl of Middleton.

WITHERSPOON, JOHN, D. D., LL. D., an eminent divine and theological writer, was born, February 5, 1722, in the parish of Yester. His father, who was minister of that parish, was a man of singular worth, and of much more than ordinary abilities. Young Witherspoon received the earlier part of his education at the public school of Haddington, where he distinguished himself by his diligence, and by the rapid proficiency he made in classical attainments. He was, also, even at this early period of his life, remarkable for that soundness of judgment, and readiness of conception, which aided so much in procuring him the favour he afterwards enjoyed. On completing the usual initiatory learning observed at the school of Haddington, he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he continued to attend the various classes necessary to qualify him for the sacred profession for which he was intended, until he had attained his twenty-first year, when he was licensed to preach the gospel. He was soon after this invited to become assistant and successor to his father; but held this appointment for a very short time only, having received a presentation, in 1744, from the earl of Eglinton, to the parish of Beith, of which he was ordained minister, with the unanimous consent of the people, in the following year.

An incident in the life of Mr Witherspoon, too curious to be passed over, occurred soon after this. On learning that a battle was likely to take place at Falkirk, between the Highlanders and royal troops, during the rebellion of 1745-6, the minister of Beith hastened to the anticipated scene of conflict, to witness the combat. This he saw; but in a general sweep which the victorious rebels made around the skirts of the field after the battle, Mr Witherspoon, with several others, whom a similar curiosity had brought to the neighbourhood of the field, was made a prisoner, and thrown into the castle of Doune, where he was confined, until he effected his escape, which he did with considerable difficulty, and not without great peril.

Mr Witherspoon first assumed the character of an author in 1753, by bringing out an anonymous publication, entitled "Ecclesiastical Characteristics, or the Arcana of Church Policy." This work, which discovers a rich vein of delicate satire, was directed against certain flaws in the principles and practice of some of the ministers of the church of Scotland of the period. It excited a great sensation, and became so popular as to reach a fifth edition, in less than ten years after its publication. This successful debut was followed soon after by another able performance, entitled a "Serious Apology" for the Characteristics, in which Dr Witherspoon acknowledged the authorship of the latter. Three years afterwards, in 1756, he published, at Glasgow, his admirable essay on the "Connexion between the Doctrine of Justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and holiness of life."

The diligence, industry, and regular habits of Dr Witherspoon, enabled him to reconcile the character of a prolific author, with that of an attentive and faithful pastor; and while discharging the duties of the latter with an exemplary fidelity, he continued to instruct and enlighten the public mind by his literary labours. His industry enabled him to give to the world, in the year

following that in which his essay on the Connexion, appeared, his still more celebrated work, entitled "A serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage." On this subject, there is much difference of opinion; but there can be none regarding the ability which Dr Witherspoon's work evinces. The reputation which he had now acquired as a zealous minister and profound theologian, procured him one of those spontaneous calls, which so strikingly mark the public sense of a clergyman's usefulness and merits. In the year 1757, he was solicited by the people of Paisley to accept the pastoral charge of the Low Church of that town. Here, as at Beith, he diligently prosecuted his literary labours, and still continued to associate them with a faithful discharge of his pastoral duties. During a portion of the time of his ministry in Paisley, he employed himself in preparing sermons for the press; several of which were published in 1758 and 1759, and were received with marked approbation. His next publication, unfortunately, though written with the best intentions, and well calculated to attain the ends proposed by its author, involved him in difficulties, which pressed hard upon him for several years afterwards. The publication alluded to was a discourse, entitled a "Seasonable Advice to Young Persons," published in 1762. The subject of this discourse was suggested, at the particular moment it appeared, by an account which had reached Dr Witherspoon, of a riotous and extremely disorderly meeting which had taken place in Paisley, on the night before the celebration of the Lord's Supper. To this discourse, the author had prefixed a prefatory address, in which he incautiously set forth, at full length, the names of the persons said to have been concerned in the indecorous meeting alluded to; and the consequence of this unguarded proceeding, on the part of Dr Witherspoon, was an action of damages, in which, being unable to adduce sufficient proof of the accuracy of his information, he was defeated, and involved in serious expenses.

In 1764, he received a degree from one of the Scottish universities, and in the same year went to London, to superintend the publication of his "Essays on Important Subjects," in three volumes. This work, with the exception of his admirable treatise on Regeneration, which was included in these volumes, was merely a reprint, in a collected form, of the detached essays which he had, from time to time, published in Scotland. Their republication, however, had the effect of greatly extending Dr Witherspoon's fame as an able theologian, and useful minister: and its appearance was soon after followed by three different calls to as many different new charges. The first of these was from a large congregation in Dublin; the second, to the Scottish church at Rotterdam; and the third, from the town of Dundee. Dr Witherspoon's attachments in Paisley, however, were too numerous, and too strong, to permit of his accepting of either of these invitations. But one of a more remarkable description, soon after prevailed with him to leave not only Paisley, but his country. This was an invitation from the trustees of the college of Princeton, New Jersey, in America, to become president of that institution. He, at first, declined this appointment, but, on a second application being made to him, thought fit to comply. A sufficient proof that this compliance did not proceed from interested motives, is found in the circumstance of his having been promised, by a gentleman, a relation of his own, who possessed considerable property, that he should be made his heir, if he would remain at home. This promise weighed nothing, however, with Dr Witherspoon, when put in opposition to the sense of duty which called him to an extensive, and peculiarly interesting field for ministerial exertion. Having come to the resolution of crossing the Atlantic, he preached a farewell sermon to his affectionate people in Paisley, on the 16th of April, 1768. This sermon was immediately after

published, under the title of "Ministerial Fidelity, in declaring the whole Counsel of God." Before leaving his native shores, he also published, at Glasgow, "Discourses on Practical Subjects;" and, at Edinburgh, "Practical Discourses on the Leading Truths of the Gospel."

Dr Witherspoon now prepared for his departure for America, and at length sailed for that country in the month of July, 1768, and arrived there in safety with his family, in the following month. Immediately after his arrival, he entered upon his new appointment, and began to discharge the important duties with which it was associated. The reputation of Dr Witherspoon had gone before him; and the result to the college, over which he presided, was a great and rapid increase of its prosperity. Previously to his arrival, the institution, which was chiefly supported by private liberality, was in a very indifferent situation with regard to finances; these, however, were quickly placed in a flourishing condition by the spirit of liberality, which the new president's abilities and zeal excited. Nor were either these, or the value of his services, overrated. The latter were singularly important and beneficial, not only to the college over which he presided, but to the general interests of education throughout America. At Princeton, he effected a total revolution in the system of instruction practised there previously to his arrival. He greatly extended the study of mathematical science, and introduced important improvements into the course of instruction in natural philosophy. In a few years afterwards, his career of usefulness was not only interrupted, but, for a time, altogether terminated, by the occurrence of the American war of independence. In this struggle, he took a decided part in favour of the insurgents; and on the 17th May, 1776, preached a sermon at Princeton, on the occasion of a general fast, appointed by the Congress, in which he expressed his sentiments fully on the subject of the great political questions, then agitated between the mother country and the revolted colonies. This discourse was afterwards published, under the title of "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men." Dr Witherspoon's conduct, on this occasion, greatly displeased his friends at home; and an edition of the sermon above alluded to, was published at Glasgow, with severe and abusive notes and remarks, by its editor, in some of which the author was stigmatized as a rebel, and a traitor to his country. In America, however, it produced a very different feeling towards Dr Witherspoon; and the nature of this feeling is sufficiently evinced, by the circumstance of his having been, soon after, elected by the citizens of New Jersey as their delegate to the convention, in which the republican constitution was formed. In this capacity he acquired, by the versatility of his talents, and the soundness of his judgment, a political reputation, not inferior to that which he enjoyed as a man of letters. In the early part of this year, 1776, he was sent, as a representative of the people of New Jersey, to the Congress of the United States, and continued for seven years an active and zealous member of that body. He was consulted on all momentous occasions; and it is known that he was the writer of many of the most important state papers of the period.

On the final settlement of the question of American independence, in the early part of the year 1783, Dr Witherspoon resumed his college duties; and two years afterwards, paid a short visit to his native country. The object of this visit was to obtain benefactions for the college over which he presided, and which had nearly been exterminated by the war; but party feeling still ran too high in the mother country, to allow of such a mission being very successful: and although the doctor made every exertion in London, and in several other parts of the kingdom, to excite an interest in, and sympathy with his views, the result, on the whole, was by no means favourable. After a short stay in Paisley,

during which he preached repeatedly in the Low and Middle churches, he took a final farewell of his friends, and returned to America, where he continued for several years more to maintain, and even increase, the reputation he had already acquired. The infirmities of age, however, began at length to steal upon him. Two years previous to his death, he was totally deprived of sight; yet such was the activity of his mind, and the greatness of his anxiety to be useful, that, even under this grievous affliction, he did not desist either from the exercise of his ministry, or from his duties in the college, although he had on all occasions to be led to the pulpit and rostrum. This affecting condition was but of short duration. He was released from it, and from all other afflictions, on the 15th of November, 1794, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Dr Witherspoon's merits as an author, preacher, and philosopher, have been the theme of much and frequent eulogium by men, themselves eminent for the attainments they so much admired in him; and we cannot conclude this brief memoir better, than by quoting the language of one of those eulogists alluded to. "Of Dr Witherspoon's character as an author," says Dr Rogers, senior minister of the United Presbyterian churches in the city of New York, "it is not necessary to say much. His writings are before the public; and to every serious and intelligent reader, they discover an uncommon knowledge of human nature, and a deep and intimate acquaintance with the holy scriptures. They generally strike us, as being at once elegant and convincing, grave and attractive, profound and plain, energetic and simple. They evidently show that the author's learning was very extensive; that God had given him a great and understanding mind, a quick apprehension, and a solid judgment. And, as a preacher, he was, in many respects, one of the best models on which a young orator could form himself."

WODROW, ROBERT, the faithful and laborious author of the "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," was born in Glasgow, in the year 1679. He was the second son of Mr James Wodrow, professor of divinity in the college of that city, a man of singular piety and learning. His mother, Margaret Hair, was the daughter of William Hair, the proprietor of a small estate in the parish of Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire. In this parent, he was equally fortunate as in the other. To all the piety of her husband, she added a degree of strength of mind, not often associated with her sex.

In 1691, young Wodrow was entered a student in the university of his native city, and went through the usual course of academical education then adopted there, and which included several of the learned languages, and various branches of philosophy. Theology he studied under his father, and, while engaged in this pursuit, was appointed librarian to the college; a situation to which the peculiar talent which he already displayed for historical and bibliographical inquiry, had recommended him. This office he held for four years; and it was during this time that he acquired the greater part of that knowledge of the ecclesiastical and literary history of his country, which he applied, during the course of his after life, to such good purpose, as to have the effect of associating his name, at once honourably and indissolubly, with those interesting subjects. At this period he imbibed, also, a taste for antiquarian research, and the study of natural history, which introduced him to the notice, and procured him the friendship, of several of the most eminent men of the day. But all these pursuits were carefully kept subordinate to what he had determined to make the great and sole business of his life, the study of theology, and the practical application of its principles. To the former, he devoted only his leisure hours; to the latter, all the others that were not appropriated to necessary repose.

On completing his theological studies at the university, Mr Wodrow went to

reside with a distant relation of the family, Sir John Maxwell, of Nether Pollock; and, while here, offered himself for trials to the presbytery of Paisley, by whom he was licensed to preach the gospel, in March, 1703. On the 28th of October following, he was ordained minister of the parish of Eastwood, near Glasgow, through the influence of the family with which he resided. Eastwood was, at that period, one of the smallest parishes in Scotland; but it was just such a one as suited Mr Wodrow: for its clerical duties being comparatively light, he was enabled to devote a portion of his time to his favourite studies in history and antiquities, without neglecting the obligations which his sacred office imposed upon him; and of this circumstance he appreciated the value so highly, that he could never be induced, though frequently invited, to accept any other charge. Glasgow, in 1712, made the attempt, in vain, to withdraw him from his obscure, but beloved retreat, and to secure his pastoral services for the city; and Stirling, in 1717, and again in 1736, made similar attempts, but with similar success. The sacrifices which he made, however, by rejecting these overtures, were amply compensated by the affectionate attachment of his little flock, who rejoiced in his ministry, and were made happy by the amiableness of his manners, and the kindliness of his disposition. Although the charge in which he was placed was an obscure one, Mr Wodrow's talents soon made it sufficiently conspicuous. The eloquence of his sermons, the energy and felicity of the language in which they were composed, and the solemn and impressive manner in which they were delivered, quickly spread his fame as a preacher, and placed him at the head of his brethren in the west of Scotland.

The popularity and reputation of Mr Wodrow, naturally procured for him a prominent place in the ecclesiastical courts which he attended; and in this attendance, whether on presbyteries, synods, or the General Assembly, he was remarkable for his punctuality. Of the latter, he was frequently chosen a member; and on occasions of public interest, was often still more intimately associated with the proceedings of the church, by being nominated to committees. In all these instances he took a lively interest in the matters under discussion, and was in the habit of keeping regular notes of all that passed; a practice which enabled him to leave a mass of manuscript records behind him, containing, with other curious matter, the most authentic and interesting details of the proceedings of the Scottish ecclesiastical courts of his time, now in existence.

In 1707, Mr Wodrow was appointed a member of a committee of presbytery to consult with the brethren of the commission in Edinburgh as to the best means of averting the evils with which it was supposed the Union would visit the church and people of Scotland; and, on the accession of George I., he was the principal adviser of the five clergymen deputed by the Assembly to proceed to London to plead the rights of the former, and to solicit the abolition of the law of patronage, of which he was a decided enemy. In this the deputation did not succeed. The law was continued in force, and Mr Wodrow, with that sense of propriety which pervaded all his sentiments and actions, inculcated a submission to its decisions. He did not deem it becoming the character of a Christian minister to be in any way accessory to acts of insubordination or of resistance to the laws of his country by irregular and unconstitutional means. The same feeling of propriety induced him to continue on friendly terms with those clergymen whose consciences permitted them to take the abjuration oath, although he, in his own case, resisted its imposition. But so far from taking offence at those who did, he exerted all his influence to reconcile the people to them, and to induce them to believe that compliance was no proof of apostasy.

Mr Wodrow's life presents us with little more of particular interest than what is contained in the circumstances just narrated, until it becomes associated with that work which has made his name so memorable, namely, "The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution." This work, for which his integrity, candour, liberality of sentiment, and talents, eminently qualified him, he contemplated from an early period of his life; but it was only in the year 1707, that he began seriously to labour on it. From this time, however, till its publication in 1721 and 1722, a period of between fourteen and fifteen years, he devoted all his leisure hours to its composition.

On the appearance of Mr Wodrow's History, which was published in three large folio volumes at separate times, in the years above named, its author was attacked by those whom his fidelity as an historian had offended, with the vilest scurrility and abuse. Anonymous and threatening letters were sent to him, and every description of indignity was attempted to be thrown on both his person and his work. The faithful, liberal, and impartial character of the history, nevertheless, procured its author many and powerful friends. Its merits were, by a large party, appreciated and acknowledged, and every man whose love of truth was stronger than his prejudices, awarded it the meed of his applause. Copies of the work were presented by Dr Fraser to their majesties, and the prince and princess of Wales, and were received so graciously, and so much approved of, that the presentation was almost immediately followed by a royal order on the Scottish exchequer for one hundred guineas to be paid to the author, as a testimony of his majesty's favourable opinion of his merits. The warrant for the payment of this sum is dated the 26th April, 1725. In 1830, a second edition of the History was published, in 4 volumes 8vo, by Messrs Blackie and Fullarton of Glasgow, under the editorial care of the Rev. Dr Burns of Paisley, now of Toronto, Canada.

Mr Wodrow's literary labours did not end with the publication of his History. He afterwards planned and executed the scheme of a complete history of the church of Scotland, in a series of lives of all the eminent men who appeared from the beginning of the Reformation down to the period at which his preceding work commenced. This valuable production, which contains an accurate and comprehensive view of some of the most important and interesting events in the history of the kingdom, has never yet been entirely published. It lies still in manuscript in the library of the university of Glasgow.

Besides these works, Mr Wodrow has left behind him six small but closely written volumes of traditionary and other memoranda regarding the lives and labours of remarkable ministers, and comprising all the occurrences of the period which he thought worth recording. These volumes are designated by the general name of *Analecta*, and the entries extend over a space of twenty-seven years, viz., from 1705 to 1732. The *Analecta* contains much curious information regarding the times of its author, and is full of anecdote, and amusing and interesting notices of the remarkable persons of the day. It is preserved in the original manuscript in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, where it is often consulted by the curious inquirer into the times to which it relates; so often indeed, that the greater part of it has found its way to the public, though in a disguised and unacknowledged shape, through the medium of various publications in which its matter has been wrought up with other materials.

A large portion of Mr Wodrow's time, all of which was laboriously and usefully employed in the discharge of his various duties, was occupied in an extensive epistolary correspondence with acquaintances and friends in different

parts of the world, but this was no idle correspondence. He made it in all cases subservient to the purposes of improving his general knowledge, and of adding to his stores of information; and with this view he was in the habit of transmitting to his correspondents lists of queries, on subjects of general and public interest, and particularly on matters connected with religion, as they stood in their several localities. With all this labour, he regularly devoted two days in every week to his preparation for the pulpit, and bestowed besides the most assiduous attention on all the other duties of his parish.

In the case of professor Simpson of Glasgow, the successor of Mr Wodrow's father, who was suspended from his office by the General Assembly for his Arian sentiments, Mr Wodrow felt himself called upon as a minister of the gospel, and a friend to evangelical truth, to take an active part with his brethren against the professor. The latter, as already said, was suspended, but through a feeling of compassion the emoluments of his office were reserved to him; a kindness for which, it is not improbable, he may have been indebted, at least in some measure, to the benevolent and amiable disposition of the subject of this memoir. Soon after this occurrence Mr Wodrow took occasion, when preaching on the days of the 10th and 11th June, 1727, in the Barony church of Glasgow, to illustrate the divinity of the Saviour in opposition to the sentiments of the Arians and Socinians. These sermons had the effect of rousing the religious zeal of one of the former sect, a Mr William Paul, a student of theology, to such a pitch as to induce him, on the day following, to challenge Mr Wodrow to a public or private disputation or to a written controversy. This challenge, however, the latter did not think it prudent to accept.

In the affair of the celebrated *Marrow Controversy*, which opened the way to the Secession in 1733, Mr Wodrow decided and acted with his usual prudence, propriety, and liberality. He thought that those who approved of the sentiments and doctrines contained in the work from which the controversy took its name, viz., the "*Marrow of Modern Divinity*," went too far in their attempts to vindicate them, and that the Assembly, on the other hand, had been too active and too forward in their condemnation. On the great question about *subscription to articles of faith*, he took a more decided part, and ever looked upon the nonsubscribers as enemies to the cause of evangelical Christianity.

On this subject he corresponded largely with various intelligent and some eminent men in different parts of the three kingdoms, especially in Ireland, from whom he collected a mass of opinion and information regarding presbyterianism in that country, which for interest and importance cannot be equalled.

The valuable and laborious life of the author of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, was now, however, drawing to a close. His constitution had been naturally good, and during the earlier part of his life he had enjoyed uninterrupted health; but the severity of his studious habits at length began to bear him down. He was first seriously affected in 1726, and from this period continued gradually to decline till 1734, an interval of pain and suffering of no less than eight years, when he expired, on the 21st March, in the 55th year of his age; dying, as he had lived, in the faith of the gospel, and love to all mankind. His remains were interred in the church-yard of Eastwood, where his memory has lately been commemorated by the erection of a monument.

Mr Wodrow was married in the end of the year 1708, to Margaret Warner, grand-daughter of William Guthrie of Fenwick, author of the "*Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*," and daughter of the reverend Patrick Warner of Ardeer, Ayrshire, and minister of Irvine. He left at his death four sons, and

five daughters. The eldest of the former succeeded his father in the parish of Eastwood, but was compelled to retire from it by an infirm state of health.

WYNTOWN, ANDREW, or Andrew of Wyntown, the venerable rhyming chronicler of Scotland, lived towards the end of the fourteenth century; but the dates of his birth and death are unknown. He was a canon regular of the priory of St Andrews, the most flourishing and important religious establishment in the kingdom; and in or before the year 1395, he was elected prior of St Serf's inch, in Lochleven.¹ Of this he himself gives an account in his "Cronykil."

Of my defaulte it is my name
Be baptisme, Andrew of Wyntowne,
Of Sanct Andrews, a chazounne
Regulare: but, noucht forthis
Of thaim al the last worthy.
Bot of thair grace and thair favoure
I was, but² meryt, made prioure
Of the ynch within Lochlevyne.

Innes mentions "several authentic acts or public instruments of Wyntown, as prior, from 1395 till 1413, in 'Extracts from the Register of the Priory of St Andrews,' which points out part of the period of his priorship; and as the death of Robert, duke of Albany, is noticed in the "Cronykil," Wyntown must have survived till beyond 1420, the year in which the duke died. Supposing, as is probable, that he brought down his narrative of events to the latest period of his life, we may conjecture his death to have occurred not long after the above date.

It was at the request of "Schyr Jhone of the Wemyss," ancestor of the earls of Wemyss,³ that Wyntown undertook his Chronicle;⁴ which, although the first historical record of Scotland in our own language, was suffered to lie neglected for several centuries. In 1795, Mr David Macpherson laid before the public an admirable edition of that part of it, which more particularly relates to Scotland, accompanied with a series of valuable annotations. Like most other old chroniclers, Wyntown, in his history, goes as far back as the creation, and takes a general view of the world, before entering upon the proper business of his undertaking. He treats of angels, of the generations of Cain and Seth, of the primeval race of giants, of the confusion of tongues, of the situation of India, Egypt, Africa, and Europe, and of other equally recondite subjects, before he adventures upon the history of Scotland; so that five of the nine books into which his Chronicle is divided, are taken up with matter, which, however edifying and instructive at the time, is of no service to the modern historical inquirer. Mr Macpherson, therefore, in his edition, has suppressed all the extraneous and foreign appendages, only preserving the metrical contents of the chapters, by which the reader may know the nature of what is withheld; and taking care that nothing which relates to the British islands, whether true or fabulous, is overlooked. It is not likely that any future editor of Wyntown will adopt a different plan; so that those parts which Mr Macpherson has

¹ St Serf is the name of a small island in that beautiful loch, not far from the island which contains the castle of Lochleven, celebrated as the prison-house of the queen of Scots.

² But, without.

³ A younger son of this family settled in the Venetian territories, about 1600; and a copy of Wyntown's work is in the possession of his descendants.

⁴ Book i. Prologue, l. 54.

omitted, may be considered as having commenced the undisturbed sleep of oblivion.

Though Wyntown was contemporary with Fordun, and even survived him, it is certain that he never saw Fordun's work; so that he has an equal claim with that writer to the title of an *original historian of Scotland*; and his "Cronykil" has the advantage over Fordun's history, both in that it is brought down to a later period, and is written in the language of the country—

"Tyl ilke manny's wnderstandyng."

"In Wyntown's Chronicle," says Mr Macpherson, "the historian may find, what, for want of more ancient records, which have long ago perished, we must now consider as the original accounts of many transactions, and also many events related from his own knowledge or the reports of eye-witnesses. His faithful adherence to his authorities appears from comparing his accounts with unquestionable vouchers, such as the *Federa Angliæ*, and the existing remains of the 'Register of the Priory of St Andrews,' that venerable monument of ancient Scottish history and antiquities, generally coeval with the facts recorded in it, whence he has given large extracts almost literally translated." His character as an historian is in a great measure common to the other historical writers of his age, who generally admitted into their works the absurdity of tradition along with authentic narrative, and often without any mark of discrimination, esteeming it a sufficient standard of historic fidelity to narrate nothing but what they found written by others before them. Indeed, it may be considered fortunate that they adopted this method of compilation, for through it we are presented with many genuine transcripts from ancient authorities, of which their extracts are the only existing remains. In Wyntown's work, for example, we have nearly three hundred lines of Barbour, in a more genuine state than in any manuscript of Barbour's own work, and we have also preserved a little elegiac song on the death of Alexander III., which must be nearly ninety years older than Barbour's work. Of Barbour and other writers, Wyntown speaks in a generous and respectful manner,⁵ and the same liberality of sentiment is displayed by him regarding the enemies of his country, whose gallantry he takes frequent occasion to praise. Considering the paucity of books in Scotland at the time, Wyntown's learning and resources were by no means contemptible. He quotes, among the ancient authors, Aristotle, Galen, Palæphatus, Josephus, Cicero, Livy, Justin, Solinus, and Valerius Maximus, and also mentions Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Statius, Boethius, Dionysius, Cato, Dares Phrygius, Origen, Augustin, Jerome, &c.

Wyntown's Chronicle being in rhyme, he ranks among the poets of Scotland and he is in point of time the third of the few early ones whose works we possess, Thomas the Rhymer and Barbour being his only extant predecessors. His work is entirely composed of couplets, and these generally of eight syllables, though lines even of ten and others of six syllables frequently occur. "Perhaps," says Mr Ellis, "the noblest modern versifier who should undertake to enumerate in metre the years of our Lord in only one century, would feel

⁵ He even avows his incompetency to write equal to Barbour, as in the following lines:—

The Stewartis originale
The Archedekyne has trestyd hal
In metre fayre mare wertwisly
Than I can thynk be my study, &c.
Cronykil, B. viii. c. 7. v. 143.

some respect for the ingenuity with which Wyntown has contrived to vary his rhymes throughout such a formidable chronological series as he ventured to encounter. His genius is certainly inferior to that of his predecessor Barbour; but at least his versification is easy, his language pure, and his style often animated."

There are various manuscripts of Wyntown's work, more or less perfect, still extant. The one in the British Museum is the oldest and the best; and after it rank, in antiquity and correctness, the manuscripts belonging to the Cotton Library and to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

Y

YOUNG, PATRICK, known also by his Latinized name of *Patricius Junius*, a distinguished scholar of the seventeenth century, was the son of Sir Peter Young, co-preceptor with Buchanan of king James VI., and was born at Seaton, in Haddingtonshire, in 1584. He was educated at the university of St Andrews—accompanied his father in the train of James VI. to England, in 1603, and was for some time domesticated with Dr Lloyd, bishop of Chester, as his librarian or secretary. In 1605, he was incorporated at Oxford in the degree of M.A., which he had taken at St Andrews; and, entering into deacon's orders, was made one of the chaplains of All-Souls' college. There he acquired considerable proficiency in ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and became profoundly skilled in the Greek language, in which he made a practice of corresponding with his father and other learned men. He afterwards repaired to London, and, by the interest of Dr Montagu, bishop of Bath and Wells, obtained a pension of £50 a-year, and was occasionally employed by the king, and some persons connected with the government, in writing Latin letters. The same interest obtained for him the office of royal librarian. In 1617, Young went to Paris, with recommendatory letters from Camden, which introduced him to the learned of that capital. After his return, he was engaged in the translation of the works of king James into Latin. In 1620, having recently been married, he was presented with two rectories in Denbighshire; soon after, he became a prebend of St Paul's, and the treasurer of that cathedral; and, in 1624, he attained, by the influence of bishop Williams, the office of Latin secretary. Young, whose reputation was now widely extended, was one of the learned persons chosen by Selden to aid in the examination of the Arundelian marbles. He made a careful examination of the Alexandrian manuscript of the Bible, and communicated some various readings to Grotius, Usher, and other learned men. He also published a specimen of an edition of that manuscript, which he intended to execute, but was ultimately obliged to abandon; however, in 1633, he edited, from the same manuscript, "*The Epistles of Clemens Romanus*;" and afterwards published, with a Latin version, "*Catena Græcorum Patrum in Jobum, collectore Niceta, Heraclie Metropolitæ*." In 1638, he published, "*Expositio in Canticum Canticorum Follioti Episcopi Londinensis, una cum Alcuini in idem Canticum Compendio*." Young also made preparations for editing various other manuscripts, to which his office in the king's library gave him access, when the confusions occasioned by the civil war, and the seizure of the library by the parliament, put an end to his designs. He retired during this period to the house of his son-in-law, at Broomfield, in Essex, where he died in 1652.

A

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

SUPPLEMENT AND CONTINUATION TO 1855.

A

ABERCROMBIE, JOHN, M.D., the subject of this brief memoir, was one of the latest of that medical school of which Scotland is so justly proud. He was born in Aberdeen, on the 11th of October, 1781, and was son of the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, who for many years was one of the ministers of that town, and distinguished by his piety and worth. The excellent training which John enjoyed under such a parent, imparted that high moral and religious tone by which his whole life was subsequently characterized. After a boyhood spent under the paternal roof, and the usual routine of a classical education, he was sent, in consequence of his choice of the medical profession, to the university of Edinburgh, at that time distinguished as the best medical school in the empire. Here he applied to his studies with indefatigable diligence, and while his fellow-students marked his progress with admiration, they were not less struck with the moral excellence of his character, and the deep, practical, unobtrusive piety by which, even thus early, his whole life was regulated. It was this confirmed excellence of character, expressed alike in action and conversation, combined with his high professional talents and reputation, that afterwards won for him the confidence of his patients, and imparted to his attentions at the sick-bed a charm that, of itself, was half the cure. When the usual prescribed course of study at the medical classes had expired, Mr. Abercrombie graduated at the university of Edinburgh on the 4th of June, 1803, while only in his twenty-second year, the subject of his thesis being "*De Fatuitate Alpina.*" He then went to London, and after a short period of study at the schools and hospitals of the metropolis, returned to Edinburgh, and was admitted a Fellow of its Royal College of Surgeons on the 12th of November, 1804. On this occasion, his probationary Essay, submitted to the president and council, entitled, "*On Paralysis of the Lower Extremities from Diseased Spine,*" was characterized by such clearness of thought and perspicuity of style, as fully indicated the eminence that awaited him not only in his professional capacity, but also in the ranks of authorship.

Thus prepared for action, Dr. Abercrombie, though still young, and com-

paratively a stranger in Edinburgh, resolved to establish himself at once as a physician in the northern capital, instead of commencing his career in some more humble district. He accordingly took a house in Nicolson Street, and as a general or family practitioner his reputation continued to grow from year to year without interruption. Even this, however, was not enough for his active and benevolent mind; and therefore, notwithstanding the increase of business, and its tempting emoluments, he gave much of his time to attendance on the poor, as one of the medical officers of the Royal Public Dispensary. Still deeming his own personal exertions insufficient, he would not rest until he had imparted his enthusiasm to others; and therefore, when his reputation in clinical knowledge had gathered round him a host of pupils emulous to follow his example, he divided the city into districts, to each of which a few of these students were attached for medical superintendence. In this way, while the health of the humblest of the population of Edinburgh was cared for, an efficient class of experienced physicians was trained for the kingdom at large. Besides this important service, on being appointed vaccinator along with Drs. Gillespie and Bryce, he was enabled to take with them an active part in introducing the practice of the Jennerian discovery into Scotland.

At length, when after a course of years, the professional experience and reputation of Dr. Abercrombie had reached their height, an event occurred by which it was hoped their excellence would be duly honoured. This was a vacancy in the Chair of Medicine in the university of Edinburgh, occasioned by the death of Dr. Gregory in 1821. On this occasion Dr. Abercrombie added his name to the list of candidates, while his friends were sanguine in the hope of his success. But town-councils are not always infallible judges of scientific attainments, and his application was unsuccessful. The following list of his writings, which he presented to the Provost and Town-Council of Edinburgh, on announcing himself as candidate for the Chair, will sufficiently show how his hours of literary leisure, amidst a throng of professional occupations extending over the preceding course of years, had been occupied and improved:—

1. On Diseases of the Spinal Marrow.
2. On Dropsy; particularly on some modifications of it which are successfully treated by blood-letting.
3. On Chronic Inflammation of the Brain and its Membranes, including Researches on Hydrocephalus.
4. On Apoplexy.
5. On Palsy.
6. On Organic Diseases of the Brain.
7. On a Remarkable and Dangerous Affection, producing Difficulty of Breathing in Infants.
8. On the Pathology of the Intestinal Canal. Part I. On Hens.
9. Ditto. Part II. On Inflammation of the Bowels.
10. Ditto. Part III. On Diseases of the Mucous Membranes of the Bowels.
11. On the Pathology of Consumptive Diseases.
12. On Ischuria Renalis.

After the decease of Dr. Gregory, Dr. Abercrombie although unsuccessful in his application for the Chair of Medicine, succeeded him as consulting physician, in which situation his services were often in demand, not only in Edinburgh, but over the whole of Scotland. He was also appointed physician to the king for Scotland—a mere title, it is true, but at the same time one of those honorary

titles that often stamp the value of the man, and prove a passport to the substantialities of eminence and wealth. In 1834, his reputation was so completely fixed, that the university of Oxford, departing from its usual routine in behalf of the *alumni* of Scottish colleges, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine, and on the following year he was elected Lord Rector of the Marischal college of Aberdeen. Besides these, he held other offices of distinction, most of which were connected with benevolent societies. In this way his life went onward, and while he increased in wealth and professional reputation, his piety made him the friend of the good, and his benevolence the honoured of the poor. But all was brought to an abrupt termination by his sudden death, at his house in York Place, on the 14th of November, 1844. On the morning of that day, having breakfasted at nine o'clock, he retired to his private room, while several patients were waiting for him, and his carriage standing at the door. As nearly an hour elapsed, his servant, alarmed at such unusual delay, entered the room, and found his master lying extended and lifeless on the floor, his death having been apparently all but instantaneous. It was found, on a *post mortem* examination, that the cause of his death was the bursting of a coronary artery. Thus unexpectedly was closed the life of one whom all classes esteemed, and whose loss is still felt and remembered.

Dr. Abercrombie was distinguished not only as a most eminent and successful medical practitioner, but also as an able and eloquent writer. At first, his exertions in authorship were confined to the "Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal," and other similar professional periodicals; but when his literary strength was matured, he produced a separate treatise entitled "Pathological and Practical Researches on Diseases of the Brain and the Spinal Cord." Edinburgh: 1828. 8vo. This work, which abounds in pure scientific knowledge, and evinces his profound research into mental character, as connected with physical condition and action, was followed in the same year by another of still higher merit, having for its title, "Pathological and Practical Researches on the Diseases of the Intestinal Canal, Liver, and other Viscera of the Abdomen." Edinburgh: 1828. 8vo. These, however, though so highly meritorious, were but prelusive efforts to something still more important; and after a careful study and arrangement of the materials which he had been accumulating for years, he produced two works; the one entitled, "Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers, and the Investigation of Truth." Edinburgh: 1830. 8vo; and the other, "The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings." London: 1833. 8vo. Upon these works, of which the latter is a sequel to the former, his literary reputation will chiefly rest; and they will always continue to be prized by the reflective mind, from the views which they unfold of the intellectual and moral nature of man, and the harmonious combination which exists between the truths of science and the revelations of Christianity. Independently, however, of these writings, so distinguished by their profound medical, ethical, and metaphysical knowledge, and so practical in their bearings, Dr. Abercrombie's pen was employed on the subjects of humble every-day usefulness, and pure unmixed religion and vital godliness, so that shortly after the publication of his "Philosophy of the Moral Feelings," he produced his "Treatise on the Moral Condition of the Lower Classes in Edinburgh," and subsequently, "The Elements of Sacred Truth," which were first published singly and at intervals, and afterwards collected into a small volume. "These tracts," an able reviewer has observed, "reflect the highest honour on Dr. Abercrombie. It is beautiful to see an

individual of his professional celebrity thus dedicating his talents and a portion of his time to religious instruction. Such an example is above all praise."

AGNEW, SIR ANDREW, of Lochnaw, Bart., Lieutenant-General. The family of Agnew lays claim, and probably with justice, to a more illustrious antiquity than most of our Scottish noble houses. The founder is supposed to have been one of the followers of William the Conqueror. Be that as it may, we find the Agnew or Agneau of the day accompanying Sir John de Courcy in the invasion of Ireland, and settling at Larne, in Ulster, after that province was conquered by the Anglo-Normans. Besides this Irish branch of the Agnews, another, in the true spirit of Norman enterprise, entered Scotland in the reign of David II., where they acquired the lands of Lochnaw, and were invested with the offices of heritable constables and sheriffs of Wigtonshire.

Sir Andrew Agnew, the subject of the present memoir, and fifth baronet of Lochnaw, was born in 1687, and was the eldest son of a family of twenty-one children. This was a truly patriarchal number; but he lived almost to equal it, being himself ultimately the father of seventeen sons and daughters by one mother, the daughter of Agnew of Creoch. Sir Andrew embraced the military profession at an early period, as many of his family had done, and was an officer in the great Marlborough campaigns, as we find him a cornet in the second regiment of Dragoons or Scotch Greys, at the battle of Ramillies, when he had just reached his nineteenth year. It was in this capacity, and under such training, that besides being a skilful and successful officer, he became distinguished by those deeds of personal daring, as well as eccentric peculiarities of manner, that long made him a favourite in the fireside legends of the Scottish peasantry. Among these, we are told, that on one occasion having been appointed to superintend the interment of the slain after one of the continental engagements, his orderly came to him in great perplexity, saying, "Sir, there is a heap of fellows lying yonder, who say they are only wounded, and won't consent to be buried like the rest: what shall I do?" "Bury them at once," cried Sir Andrew, "for if you take their own word for it, they won't be dead for a hundred years to come!" The man, who understood nothing beyond the word of command, made his military salaam, and went off with full purpose to execute the order to the letter, when he was checked by a counter-order from his superior, who perhaps little thought that his joke would have been carried so far. On another occasion, when an engagement was about to commence, he pointed to the enemy, and thus briefly and pithily addressed his soldiers: "Weel, lads, ye see these loons on the hill there: if ye dinna kill them, they'll kill you."

When the battle of Dettingen took place, which occurred in 1743, where George II. commanded the British troops in person, Sir Andrew Agnew held the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was appointed to the keeping of a pass at the outskirts of the British army, through which an attack of the French was apprehended. On this post of danger, accordingly, the knight of Lochnaw stationed himself with his regiment of Scots Fusileers as coolly as if he had been upon the boundary of one of his own farms in Wigtonshire. One day, while at dinner, he was informed that there were symptoms of a coming attack—that the enemy's cavalry were mustering at no great distance. "The loons!" cried Sir Andrew indignantly; "surely they will never hae the impudence to attack the Scots Fusileers!" and forthwith ordered his men to finish their dinner quietly, assuring them that they would fight all the better for it. He continued eating and encouraging his officers to follow his example, until the enemy were so nigh, that

a shot struck from his hand a bone which he was in the act of picking. "They are in earnest now!" he cried, and drew up his men to receive the enemy, who came on at full charge. They were a portion of the royal household troops, the picked and best-disciplined soldiers of France, mounted upon heavy and powerful horses, and armed with cuirasses that were buckled close to the saddle, so that the point of a bayonet could not easily find entrance within their steel panoply. Sir Andrew, who knew that it was useless to abide such an avalanche of man and horse, ordered his soldiers not to fire until they saw the whites of their enemy's eyes, to take aim only at their horses, and open their ranks as soon as a charge was made upon them. This skilful manœuvre succeeded as he had foreseen—the French horses were brought down in heaps, their riders easily bayoneted, and the far-famed household troops were driven back with heavy loss. After the battle, George II. observed, "Well, Sir Andrew, I hear that your regiment was broken; that you let the French cavalry in upon you." "Yes, please your Majesty," replied the gallant humourist; "but they didna gang back again."

The most important military service, however, in which Sir Andrew Agnew was engaged, was the defence of Blair Castle against the troops of the Pretender, during the insurrection of 1745-6. On the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland in Perth, to take the command of the royalist army, he found it necessary to occupy and garrison Blair Castle, the seat of the Duke of Athol, then absent, for the purpose of suppressing the disaffected of the district, and cutting off the communications of the rebels by the great roads between the southern and northern parts of the country. For this service Sir Andrew was selected, and despatched thither with a detachment of three hundred soldiers. Not only was no siege expected, but the place was ill fitted to sustain one; for it was scantily supplied with provisions, and had no artillery or military stores, while the soldiers had only nineteen rounds of ammunition per man. Of all this the rebels seem to have been apprised, and, accordingly, on the morning of the 17th of March (1746), Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general of the Pretender, Lord Nairne, Macpherson of Clunie, and other Jacobite leaders, resolved to recover the castle, and open their communications. They came, therefore, in great force, captured the detached parties that were without the castle, and suddenly appeared before the fort itself, while such a visit was neither expected nor desired. Most commanders in such a situation as that of Sir Andrew would have abandoned the fort as untenable; but he had not thus learned his military lessons under the great Marlborough: he resolved to defend it to the last, notwithstanding its impoverished condition, and thus gave time for the collection of those forces by which the insurrection was soon after extinguished at Culloden. He therefore issued strict orders to his garrison, now reduced to 270 men, to save their ammunition with the utmost care; and, as there were no provisions in the castle but some bread and cheese, he commanded these to be dealt out in small daily rations.

As the obtaining of Blair Castle was of the utmost importance to the rebels, Lord George Murray, their ablest commander, commenced the siege in due form. He began by a summons to surrender; and knowing the old knight's fiery temper, he wrote to him to this effect, not upon decent foolscap, but a piece of shabby grey paper. But who was to enter the lion's den, and beard him with such a missive? No Highlander could be found to undertake the task, so that it was intrusted to a comely young servant maid of Blair Inn,

who had found favour in the eyes of Sir Andrew's young officers while they resorted there, and who naturally thought that they would not allow her to be harmed. She approached the garrison, taking care to avoid being shot, by waving the paper over her head like a flag of truce. When she delivered her credentials, she earnestly entreated the officers to surrender, assuring them that the Highlanders were a thousand strong, and would *ding* the castle about their ears; but this friendly warning they only received with peals of laughter, telling her that they would soon set these Highlanders a scampering, and visit her at the inn as before. No one, however, would deliver the summons to Sir Andrew, except a timid lieutenant of the company, whose nerves were further unstrung by the use of strong waters; but no sooner did the old knight hear the first sentence read, than he burst forth into such a storm of wrath, and uttered such fearful threats of shooting the next messenger through the head who dared to propose a surrender, that the lieutenant took to his heels, while Molly, who stood at the bottom of the stairs, and heard the whole, fled across the fields like a startled hare. She told her employers, waiting in the churchyard of Blair, the result of her mission, who laughed heartily at the rage of Sir Andrew. Still further to provoke him, and perhaps tempt him to a rash sally, they threw large stones at the walls, accompanied with biting jokes at his expense; but fiery though his temper was, and impatient of ridicule, he was too wary a soldier to afford them such an advantage. In the mean time, the more serious work of the siege went on with vigour, and, though the walls of Blair Castle were of great thickness, the assailants not only used common, but also hot shot, in the hope of setting the building on fire. The wood being luckily not very combustible, only smouldered as it received the balls. But the chief confidence of the rebels was to starve the garrison out, knowing how scantily it was supplied; and for this purpose they strictly blockaded the place, while their best marksmen were ordered to keep up a close fire wherever a man showed himself. This last incident suggested to the officers of the castle a practical joke at the expense of their worthy commander, whom they loved, feared, and laughed at when they dared. They therefore got one of his old uniforms; and having stuffed it with straw, and furnished the figure with a spy-glass, they placed it at a small turret window, where it looked like no other than Sir Andrew himself reconnoitring the enemy below. The rifles of the assailants were all brought to bear upon it, and the best marksmen of the Highlands continued to riddle this deceptive wisp, until Sir Andrew himself, wondering why this point should have been selected for such a hot attack, ascended the turret, and there he saw this other identity standing under fire, as stiff, fearless, and imperturbable as himself! He was in a towering rage at the irreverent deception, and resolved that the perpetrator should not escape a share of his own joke. The wag was ordered to go to this spot so full of risk, and carry the puppet away, Sir Andrew gruffly pronouncing this retributive sentence: "Let the loon that set it up, just gang up himsel' and tak' it down again."

Beyond all military calculation, Sir Andrew Agnew, with miserably scanty means, had made good his position from the 17th of March to the end of the month. Longer than this, however, it was impossible to hold out, as the provisions of the garrison were exhausted, so that nothing seemed to be left them but a desperate sally, or immediate surrender. A faint chance indeed there might be of some messenger stealing through the leaguer, and carrying tidings of their condition to the Earl of Crawford, who was then at Dunkeld with a strong force

of Hessians. This was now attempted, and the gardener of Blair Castle undertook to be the messenger. The gate was opened without noise; he stole out unperceived, mounted a horse, and rode cautiously down the avenue to the highway; but immediately a firing and pursuit commenced, and, on the following day, a Highlander was seen mounted on the gardener's horse, so that the garrison thought he must have been either killed or taken. On the 1st of April, however, they were startled by an unexpected messenger; this was no other than Molly of the Inn, formerly the envoy of the rebels, who now came with the joyful intelligence that they had broken up their encampment, and gone away to Dalnacardoch. Sir Andrew, who was not only wary but short-sighted, would not trust the news, and abode a day longer in his hunger-bitten hold, when an officer arrived from the Earl of Crawford, to say that his lordship himself was on the road with his cavalry, and would arrive within an hour. Such was the case; for the gardener's horse being alarmed at the firing, had thrown him, and been captured by the Highlanders, so that he had made his journey to Dunkeld on foot. When Crawford arrived, Sir Andrew drew up his soldiers to receive him, and thus addressed the Earl: "My lord, I am very glad to see you; but, by all that's good, you have been very dilatory; we can give you nothing to eat." The Earl laughed good humouredly, and invited Sir Andrew and his officers to dine with him—an invitation that was never more welcome, perhaps, than at the present crisis. The summer-house in the garden was immediately turned into a dining-room, the table was plentifully covered with substantial dishes and excellent wines, and the half-starved and doomed defenders of Blair Castle were translated, as if by magic, into the regions of safety, hilarity, and good cheer.

After the siege was thus raised, Sir Andrew Agnew's gallant defence was not forgot. He and his soldiers were publicly thanked by the Duke of Cumberland, and soon afterwards he was promoted to a Colonelcy of Marines. In 1747, in consequence of the abolition of the many old feudal offices in Scotland, his hereditary sheriffdom of Wigtonshire was among the number; but he received £4000 as a compensation from government. In 1750, he was appointed governor of Timmouth Castle, in ruins of the Duke of Somerset. He died, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, in 1771, at the age of eighty-four, and was succeeded by his fifth son, Sir Stair Agnew, who was born October 9, 1734. His father, who at that period was absent on foreign service, found at his return the infant nestled in the maternal bosom. "What's this ye hae got, Nelly?" he asked, as this was the first intelligence he had of the event. "Another son to you, Sir Andrew," she answered. "And what do you call this boy?" "I have called him Stair, after the earl, your commander." "Stair, Sir Stair," repeated the knight, whistling the sibilant sounds through his teeth—"Sir Stair, Sir Deevil! It dinsa clink weel, Nelly." The sounds, however, were at last united, whether they clinked or not, for the child, by the death of his elder brothers, ultimately succeeded to the Baronetcy of Lochnaw.

ALISON, REV. ARCHIBALD, M.A., LL.B., this distinguished writer on "Taste," whose works procured him a high reputation among the foremost literary judges of his day, was born in Edinburgh, A.D. 1757, and was the son of Mr. Andrew Alison, one of the magistrates of that city. When he had completed the usual course of an elementary classical education, he was sent, at the age of fifteen, to the university of Glasgow, where, after the usual curriculum of Latin, Greek, and Logic, he attended the lectures of Professor Reid, at that time in

high metaphysical reputation, and formed an intimacy with Dugald Stewart, which continued to the end of his life. Having been so fortunate as to obtain one of those exhibitions to Baliol College of which the university of Glasgow possesses the patronage, Archibald Alison removed to Oxford, where he completed his course of study, and took the degree of A.M., and afterwards of LL.B. In 1784, he also took orders, and married the eldest daughter of the celebrated Dr. John Gregory of Edinburgh. His first appointment in the church was to the curacy of Brancepath, in the county of Durham. After this, he was appointed to the chapelry of Kenley in Shropshire in 1790, and to the vicarage of Ercall in the same county in 1794, by the Earl of Darlington, to whom the patronage of both livings belonged; and in 1797 he was presented to Roddington by the Lord Chancellor. In 1791 also, the small prebend of Yatminster Secunda, in the cathedral of Salisbury, was conferred upon him by Bishop Douglas. So many pluralities have an imposing appearance; but their aggregate revenue amounted to nothing more than eight hundred per annum. Circumstances soon led to Alison's removal to his native city, having been invited by Sir William Forbes and the vestry of the Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, to become senior minister of that charge. He removed to Edinburgh in 1800, and continued to preach in the Cowgate, until the congregation removed from that murky locality to the handsome chapel of St. Paul's, in York Place. In 1831, Alison, now an old man, and subject to severe attacks of pectoral disease, was obliged to desist from his public labours, and confine himself to the private society of his friends, in which the evening of his days was tranquil and happy. The high reputation which he had attained both as a preacher and writer, and his amiable personal qualities, endeared him to the most distinguished literary characters for which Edinburgh was now at the height of its fame; and he was in constant intercourse, among others, with Dugald Stewart, Dr. Gregory, Lord Woodhouselee, Professor Playfair, Dr. Thomas Brown, Sir James Hall, and Thomas Campbell. Besides these, he had been in familiar acquaintanceship with the illustrious of the end of the last century, such as Dr. Adam Smith, Dr. Adam Ferguson, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Blair. He was indeed the literary Nestor of the day, who chronicled the remembrances of the great and good of a past generation for the instruction of their successors. Another congenial spirit, though in a different walk of intellect, whose society he especially valued, was Mr. Telford, the celebrated engineer; and it was pleasing to witness the zeal of the venerable pair, while Telford unfolded his scientific plans for the improvement of their native Scotland and its fair capital. The death of Archibald Alison occurred in 1839, at the age of eighty-two. By his wife, who died in 1830, he had six children, of whom three survived him, and one of them, Sir Archibald Alison, is known to most of our readers as the author of the "History of Europe from the French Revolution."

Of the Rev. Archibald Alison's life as an author it is now necessary to speak. His "Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste," the work by which he is best known, was published so early as 1790, but attracted little notice—the state of society being probably far from favourable at that time to metaphysical investigation. Not discouraged by the cold reception of a subject which had evidently formed the chief study of his life, Alison, after he had been for some years settled in Edinburgh, republished his "Essays" with considerable additions in 1811. He had now established for himself a more favourable class of readers;

and he was so fortunate as to find a eulogist in Francis Jeffrey, then the Aristarchus of critics, and through the "Edinburgh Review" at that time the paramount oracle of the literary world. A very powerful and beautiful article forthwith appeared in that influential periodical upon the long-neglected work; and the consequence was, that the "Essays" immediately took their place as the standard of the "Nature and Principles of Taste." The present generation can well remember how their boyhood and youth were familiarized with it, and how the pulpit and the press did homage to its authority. But time has sobered down this enthusiasm, and Alison is reckoned neither to have invented a new theory (for its leading idea had been distinctly announced by David Hume); nor to have sifted it with the most philosophical analysis, or expressed it in the happiest language. But who shall arrest our fleeting emotions produced by the sublime and the beautiful, and reduce them to such a fixed standard as all shall recognize? Longinus, Burke, Schlegel, and Alison, have all successively passed away, while the science of aesthetics is still accumulating its materials for future theorists and fresh legislation. The theory of taste, like that of the weather or the tides, is still the subject of hypothesis and conjecture. Besides his principal work of "Essays on Taste," which has gone through many editions, both in Britain and America, as well as been translated into French, Mr. Alison published two volumes of sermons, which have also been several times republished; and a "Memoir of Lord Woodhouselee," inserted in the "Transactions of the Edinburgh Royal Society," 1818. The character of Alison, which is thus given by his son, was borne out through a long and well-spent life:—"No man who held firm and uncompromising opinions on the principles of religion and morals, looked with more indulgence on the failings of others, or passed through the world in more perfect charity and good-will to all men. No man who had lived much in society, could retire with more sincere pleasure at all periods of his life into domestic privacy, and into the solitude of the country. * * * * * No man who had attained a high reputation as a preacher or an author, was ever more absolutely indifferent to popular applause, as compared with the consciousness of the performance of duty."

ALLAN, SIR WILLIAM, R.A., President of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting. This distinguished painter was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1782, and was the son of William Allan, who held the humble office of macer in the Court of Session. Notwithstanding the circumstances of his birth, he was destined, like others of the same grade in Scotland, to undergo a classical education, before his future path in life was selected. Accordingly, he was sent, while still in early boyhood, to the High School of Edinburgh, and placed under the preceptorship of Mr. William Nichol, whose memory will descend to posterity more for the "peck o' maut," which he brewed to supply one memorable sitting where Burns was the laureate, than for all his classical attainments, respectable though they were. The future artist, however, was a poor Latin scholar, though Nichol was a stern and able teacher. In fact, the young boy already felt nature strong within him, so that he was employed in sketching the objects around him with whatever instrument came to hand, while his class-fellows were occupied with the commentaries of Cæsar, or the longs and shorts of Ovid. So keen was this artistic tendency, that the forms and floor of the class-room were frequently chalked with his juvenile efforts, while their excellence invariably pointed out the offender who had thus transgressed against academic rule. Another luxury in which he indulged, was

to linger near a group of boys playing at marbles ; and while studying their attitudes and the expression of their countenances, he neither thought of the class hour that had elapsed, nor the punishment that awaited his remissness. After striving against the bent, Mr Nichol saw that he could not transform his pupil into a lover of Latin and Greek ; but his pupil had long been of the same opinion. He felt within himself not only his natural tendency, but a vague conception of the eminence to which it would lead him ; and his usual reply to paternal remonstrance was, " Father, in spite of all this spending of money in learning Latin, I will be a painter." A painter accordingly it was consented that he should be, but his noviciate in the profession was sufficiently humble : he was bound apprentice to a coach-builder in Leith Walk, to paint the armorial bearings on the panels of carriages. But Hogarth himself had a less promising commencement. William Allan, although a stripling not more than thirteen years of age, soon gave such indications of pictorial excellence, that he was employed in the delicate task of painting certain anatomical preparations at Surgeon's Square Hall. At the commencement of his labours there, he was locked up by mistake at night in the room where he had been occupied all day, and was thus compelled to spend the hours of darkness amidst the skeletons and mangled relics of the dead. The hideous effects upon the imagination of a timid susceptible boy in such a charnel-house ; the sights he saw by the glimmer of the moon through the crevices of the window-shutters, and the still more terrible phantasms which his fancy conjured up, formed such a night of horror as no artist but Fuseli could have relished. Allan himself was wont at a late stage in life, and amidst the literary circles of Edinburgh by which he was surrounded, to detail the particulars of this ghastly bivouac with a force of description and amount of merriment that never failed to set the hearers in a roar. It was making Yorick's skull to speak anew, for the mirth of a present, as well as past generation.

The high promise of excellence which the coach-panel painting of William Allan afforded, so won upon his employer, that, through the influence of the latter, he was entered in the Trustees' Academy, where he was a pupil for several years ; and it is worthy of remark that Wilkie entered this school at the same period with Allan, sat on the same form, and copied from the same models and drawings. This circumstance, independently of their mutual enthusiasm for the art in which they were afterwards so distinguished, ripened an affection between them which no jealous rivalry could subsequently disturb. Their friendship continued unabated till the close of Wilkie's life ; and Allan was wont, while training his scholars, to refer to his illustrious fellow-pupil, as their best model and example. After he had spent several years in the lessons of the Trustees' Academy, where he had a faithful and efficient teacher in Mr. Graham, of whose instructions he always spoke with gratitude and respect, Allan went to London, and was admitted to the school of the Royal Academy. On commencing active life, however, he soon experienced the difficulties with which the Fine Arts, as a profession, have to contend in the great metropolis of merchandise : his superiority was not appreciated with that readiness which his youthful enthusiasm had anticipated, and the demands upon his pencil were so few, as would soon have been insufficient to furnish him with the means of a mere subsistence. Like his countrymen so situated, he resolved to try the experiment elsewhere, and find, or make a home, wherever his talents could be best appreciated. The place which he selected for trial was Russia, a

country still semi-barbarous, and but imperfectly known in general society, and where the Fine Arts seemed to have little chance of a cordial reception, amidst the recent, and as yet, imperfect civilization of the people. The boldness of his choice also was fully matched by scantiness of means for its execution; for he knew nothing of the Russ language, was slenderly provided with money, and had only one or two letters of introduction to some of his countrymen in St. Petersburg.

Thus inadequately equipped, the artist-adventurer threw himself into that bold career which was ultimately to lead to fame and fortune. Even the commencement was attended with a startling omen; for the ship in which he embarked for Riga was tossed about by adverse winds, and at length driven almost a wreck into Memel. Thus, contrary to his purpose, Allan found himself the temporary inhabitant of a sea-port town in Prussia, in the midst of a people to whose tongue he was a stranger, and with pecuniary resources which a few days would have exhausted. Still, however, his stout heart triumphed over the difficulty. Having settled himself at an inn, he commenced in due form the occupation of portrait painter, and had for his first sitter the Danish consul, to whom he had been introduced by the captain of the vessel that brought him to Memel. Other sitters followed; and having thus recruited his exhausted purse, he resumed his original purpose of travelling to Russia, which he did by land, passing on his way to St. Petersburg through a considerable part of the Russian army, which was at that time on its march to the fatal field of Austerlitz. At St. Petersburg, he found an effectual patron in his countryman, Sir Alexander Crichton, physician to the imperial family, to whom he was warmly recommended by Colonel Crichton, the physician's brother, one of his early patrons in Scotland, and by Sir Alexander he was introduced to an extensive and fashionable circle of society, where his artistic talents were appreciated, and his opportunities for their improvement furthered. To accomplish that improvement, indeed, was so strongly the desire of his ardent enthusiastic mind, that neither the motives of personal comfort and safety, nor the attractive society of the Russian capital, could withhold him from a course of adventurous self-denying travel. He therefore repaired to the Ukraine, where he resided for several years, studying the wild scenery of the steppes, and the still wilder costume and manners of its inhabitants, with a fearless and observant eye. He also made occasional journeys to Turkey and Tartary, as well as to the remote dependencies of the Russian empire, dwelling in the hut of the barbarian serf, or the tent of the wandering nomade, as well as the palace of the boyar and the emir; and amidst the picturesque tribes of the east and north, with whom he thus freely fraternized, he enjoyed a daily intercourse with those whom his less adventurous brethren at home are contented to delineate from the narratives of the traveller or the waking dreams of the studio. The large collection which Allan made of the dresses, armour, weapons, and utensils of the various communities among whom he sojourned, and the life-like ease and fidelity of form, feature, and costume, by which the figures of his principal paintings are distinguished, attest how carefully and how completely he had identified himself with Russian, Turk, and Pole, with Cossack, Circassian, and Bashkir. It is much to be regretted that no journal appears to have been kept by the artist of the many stirring scenes he witnessed, and the strange adventures he underwent in this novel pilgrimage in quest of the sublime and the beautiful. That they were pregnant with interest and instruc-

tion, and worthy of a permanent record, was well evinced by the delight with which his hearers were wont to listen to his conversational narratives, when he happened—which was but rarely—to allude to the events of his travels. He appears also to have become an especial favourite with those rude children of the mountain and the desert among whom he sojourned, and whose language, dress, and manners he adopted, so that he is still remembered by the old among them as an adopted son or brother, while in Poland, the usual name by which he is distinguished is, *le Raphael Ecossais*—the Scottish Raphael.

After this romantic apprenticeship to his beloved profession, in which he established for himself a high reputation as a painter among foreigners, while he was still unknown at home, Allan resolved in 1812 to return to his native land, for which he had never ceased, amidst all his travels, to entertain a most affectionate longing. But the invasion of Russia by Napoleon obliged him to postpone his purpose; and, in addition to the large stock of ideas which he had already accumulated for future delineation, he was compelled to witness, and treasure up remembrances of the worst effects of war upon its grandest scale—bloodshed, conflagration, and famine maddening every human passion and feeling to the uttermost. On the restoration of peace in 1814, Allan returned to Edinburgh after a ten years' absence, and commenced in earnest the work for which he had undergone so singular a training. His first effort, which was finished in 1815, and exhibited in Somerset House, was his well-known painting of the "Circassian Captives;" and after this, followed the "Tartar Banditti;" "Haslan Gherai crossing the Kuban;" "A Jewish Wedding in Poland;" and "Prisoners conveyed to Siberia by Cossacks." But, notwithstanding the now highly established reputation of these and other productions, which he exhibited in his native city, along with the costumes and weapons of the countries by which his paintings were illustrated, a home reputation was very hard to establish: his countrymen, with their proverbial caution, were slow to perceive the excellencies that addressed them in such an unwonted form, and refused to sympathize, at first sight, with Poles, Tartars, and Circassians. It was well, therefore, for Allan that his labours had already been prized in Russia, so that he had not been allowed to return home empty-handed. He persevered with the same boldness that had carried him onward through the encampments of the Calmucks, or the defiles of the Caucasus; and to all the remonstrances of his relations, who advised him to leave such unprofitable work and betake himself to portraits, by which he would gain both fame and money, his invariable answer was, "I will be a historical painter." His perseverance was at last rewarded. Sir Walter Scott, John Lockhart, and John Wilson, with others, who were able to appreciate the artist's merits, combined to purchase the "Circassian Captives" at a price adequate to its value; and having done this, the individual possession of the painting was decided among them by lot, in consequence of which it became the property of the Earl of Wemyss. "Haslan Gherai," and the "Siberian Exiles," also found a munificent purchaser in the Grand Duke Nicholas, now Emperor of Russia, when he visited the Scottish capital. The tide had thus changed; and it bore him on to fortune, not only in pecuniary matters, but to what he had still more at heart—the establishment of his reputation as a Scottish painter of history. Although they are so well known, the following list of his principal productions may here be fitly introduced:—

THE SLAVE MARKET AT CONSTANTINOPLE—purchased by Alexander Hill, Esq., and now the property of Miss Davidson of Durievale, Fife.

JOHN KNOX ADMONISHING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.—This is the well-known scene described by the Reformer himself, in which the beautiful queen, irritated by his bold sentiments about the limited power of sovereigns, and the liberty of their subjects, burst into tears.

THE ORPHAN, a scene at Abbotsford, in the interior of Sir Walter Scott's breakfast-room.

THE MEETING OF DAVID DEANS WITH HIS DAUGHTER JEANNIE AT ROSENKATH. In the tale of the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," Sir Walter Scott, after describing the dress, look, and attitude of the stern old father, adds, "So happily did they assort together, that, should I ever again see my friends Wilkie or Allan, I will try to borrow or steal from them a sketch of this very scene." This was a fair challenge, which Allan gladly accepted, and the picture of the meeting at Rose-nath was the result.

THE REGENT MURRAY SHOT BY HAMILTON OF BOTHWELLHAUGH.—In this great event of Scottish history, the painter, instead of confining himself to the strict historical record, has adopted the poetical description of Sir Walter Scott in his ballad of Cadzow. This gave the artist an opportunity of introducing several personages who were not present at the scene, such as John Knox, and the Earl of Morton.

THE MURDER OF DAVID RIZZIO.

THE FAIR MAID OF PERTH.—The scene is that in the glover's house, when Henry of the Wynd was suddenly awoke on Valentine's morn by the bashful salute of the fair object of his affections, according to the established custom of the festival.

THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS.—The central and chief object in this painting is the death of Colonel Gardiner, amidst the small handful of English infantry whom he joined when his cavalry had deserted him.

THE EYTRICK SHEPHERD'S BIRTHDAY.—In this painting, the portraits of the principal friends of the artist and poet are introduced within the interior of Hogg's house at Eltrive, after a day spent in trouting and rambling among the mountains.

THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SHARPE.

A PRESS-GANG.—The terrible and heart-rending fidelity and power of this delineation have always placed it in the foremost rank of Allan's artistic productions. A young man, the son of a fisherman, has just returned from a long voyage in a merchant ship, and been welcomed by his parents, relatives, and mistress: the triumphant feast is prepared, and the happiness of the party has reached its height, when a press-gang suddenly rushes in, and the sailor-boy is within their grasp, and about to be carried off. The agony of the parents; the fruitless attempt of the mother to bribe the leader of the gang; the stupor of the aged grandfather and grandmother, with whom this seems to be the last, as well as the most crushing affliction which a long-spent and now worn-out life could have in store for them—and saddest of all, the half-dressed maiden who has hurried to welcome her lover's return, but only to lose him, and who has fallen into an insensibility that might be mistaken for death—compose a group of misery which art has seldom equalled, and perhaps never surpassed.

These are but a few of Allan's many productions, which were prized by competent judges as masterpieces of historical painting, and the greater part of which

have been familiarized to the public at large through the medium of engraving. His labours, however, were more than once subject to interruption from ill health; and at last, a complaint in the eyes suspended his exertions for several years, and threatened to end in total blindness. By medical advice he went to Italy; and after sojourning a winter at Rome, and spending a short time in Naples, he visited Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Greece, and returned with recruited health to his beloved studio in Edinburgh. He became once more a traveller in 1834, being desirous of visiting the romantic and historical scenery of Spain. His journey on this occasion extended into Western Barbary, and would have been still further lengthened, but for a sudden necessity of returning home, after which he continued to produce many of his best paintings. A desire also to paint the Battle of Waterloo led him several times to France and Belgium, that he might collect sufficient materials in costume, scenery, and incident, and study accurately the field of conflict. The result was a magnificent view of this great combat of nations, which, at the exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1843, was purchased by the Duke of Wellington, who testified his approbation of its truth and accuracy. Allan had now done enough for fame and fortune, both as artist and traveller; but in 1844, he again grasped his pilgrim's staff for a journey into the far north. He visited Russia, and there produced his painting of "Peter the Great teaching his subjects the art of ship-building;" which, after being exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1845, was purchased by the Emperor of Russia, for the winter palace of St. Petersburg. In consequence of the success of his first painting of Waterloo, he resolved on producing a second; and, as the former was delineated as viewed from the French side of the action, the latter was from the British. Independently also of the stirring nature of the subject, his personal as well as patriotic feelings were engaged in this new effort, for it was intended for the competition of Westminster Hall in 1846. Great, however, as were its merits, it was unsuccessful. It was afterwards purchased by the Junior United Service Club in London, of whose splendid rooms it now forms a conspicuous ornament. The public honours which had already rewarded him, might indeed sufficiently console him under this disappointment; for in 1826 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1835 an Academician. Four years later, on the death of Watson, he was unanimously preferred to the office of President of the Royal Scottish Academy; and in 1842, after having been appointed her Majesty's Limner for Scotland on the death of Wilkie, he received the honour of knighthood. He was now also the venerable father of Scottish painting, and could look around him with pleasure upon a race of promising artists whose genius his example and labours had kindled in a department which, as yet, his countrymen had almost wholly neglected.

The last professional labour in which Sir William Allan was engaged was the Battle of Bannockburn, into the difficult and complicated details of which he entered with all the inspiration and vigour of his best days. The period of action selected was the critical moment when the English, daunted by the discomfort of their bowmen, the overthrow of their splendid cavalry among the concealed pits, and the appearance of what seemed a fresh Scottish army descending from the Gillie's Hill, gave way on every side, and were pressed and borne down by the resistless effort of the four Scottish bodies, now united into one, with the heroic Bruce at their head. But this painting, to which he clung to the last, and touched and retouched with a dying hand, he did not live to

finish. He died at his house in Great King Street, Edinburgh, on February 23, 1830. As a painter, Sir William Allan will long be gratefully remembered in the annals of Scottish art, for the impulse which he gave to historical composition. For this department he was eminently fitted; for his excellence in painting did not so much consist in character and colour, as in his admirable power in telling a story and his general skill in composition, by which each of his productions is a striking poetical narrative. Sir Walter Scott, a congenial spirit, who highly prized and affectionately loved him, was wont to speak of him under the familiar endearing name of "Willie Allan."

ANDERSON, CHRISTOPHER. — This excellent divine, who, in spite of many obstacles by which his career was attended, and his position as minister of a sect little noticed and scarcely naturalized in Scotland, won for himself a respected name both as an author and minister, was born in the West Bow of Edinburgh, on the 19th of February, 1782. His father, William Anderson, iron-monger in Edinburgh, was not only prosperous in business, but esteemed for his piety and integrity. Being of delicate health, Christopher was sent in childhood to Laswade, where he was reared in a comfortable cottage, and educated in the village school; and on his return to his native city, being intended for business, he was first apprenticed to the trade of an iron-monger; but not liking this occupation, he was subsequently entered as junior clerk in a thriving company called the Friendly Insurance Office. Hitherto he had been of rather a gay and thoughtless turn of mind, and was attached to those meetings for music and dancing which, at this time at least, and in such a city as Edinburgh, could scarcely be attended by the young with impunity; and this, with the religious training he received at home, produced within him that struggle which often constitutes the turning-point of the inner and spiritual life. "In the early part of 1799," says his biographer, "when about seventeen years of age, he was sometimes alarmed at the course he was pursuing, and shuddered at the thought of where it must end; but would not allow himself to think long enough on the subject, lest it should cost him those pleasures which he knew to be inconsistent with a godly life." This state did not continue long. He was in the practice of attending public worship at the Circus, lately opened by the Independents, and there the new style of preaching by Mr. James Haldane, the pastor of the church, as well as that of Rowland Hill, Burder of Coventry, Bogue of Gosport, and other distinguished English divines who officiated there during their occasional visits to the north, aroused his inquiries and confirmed his scruples. He abjured his former indulgences as incompatible with the Christian life, and joined in membership with the congregation meeting at the Circus. Scruples soon rose in his mind upon the views on Christian baptism held by the Scottish Baptist church, with which he could not wholly coincide, and conceiving that those of the English Baptist churches were of a more enlarged as well as more scriptural character, he was baptized into that communion in March, 1801, at the age of nineteen. A few others of the Circus congregation joined him in this step, and for this, he and they were excluded from the membership of their church as followers of divisive courses, and left to follow their own devices.

To a mind so sensitive, and so much in earnest as that of Christopher Anderson, this event was of paramount importance. He had shown his sincerity by forsaking the allurements of the world, and joining a cause so new and unpromising in Scotland as that of which the Haldanes were the leaders; and now, he had made a sacrifice perhaps still greater, by foregoing the privileges of their

communion, for the sake of certain convictions which he regarded as of Divine authority, and therefore not to be concealed or tampered with. He and the few who had seceded with him, stood solitary and apart, although surrounded by thousands of professing Christians; and while the multitudes crowded to churches where congenial ordinances awaited them, their only remedy was to retire to "an upper room." This they did, and amidst these meetings for mutual prayer and religious conference, in the absence of a regular ministry, the humble efforts of Christopher Anderson were peculiarly acceptable to the little flock. The result was easy to be guessed at; here was a minister in embryo, as well as the nucleus of a congregation. Mr. Anderson, indeed, had previously been so far prepared for the assumption of the sacred office, as to have resolved to devote his life to the work of a missionary to India; but the verdict of his medical advisers, who convinced him that his constitution was utterly unfit for an Indian climate, and the growing necessities of that small community with which he was connected, naturally turned his thoughts into another channel. The emergency was evidently at home, and to find his field of labour he had only to cross his own threshold. With this conviction, he resolved to become the spiritual pastor of the small flock with which he had allied himself; and in so determining, it is not easy to estimate the full value of the sacrifice. At the age of twenty-one, he must reverse his habits, commence a life of study, and encounter the difficulties of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, although he had neither liking nor natural aptitude for the acquirement of languages. And when all this was done, he must deliberately devote himself to a life of poverty and self-denial, for the people of his ministry would in all likelihood be too few and too poor to afford him that decent subsistence which is justly deemed so essential to the clerical office. He commenced with the necessary step of relinquishing his clerkship in the Insurance Office. "Were I to continue in my present situation," he writes, "I should in all probability succeed to an income of £300 or £400 a year, but this is of no account in my estimation compared with being more immediately employed in the service of Christ. * * * Emolument in this world I freely forego. The riches of it I neither have nor want; may I be but of some service to God before I go to the grave!" He entered the necessary studies at the university of Edinburgh in 1805, and as his time was brief, and the case urgent, he attended during a single course the classes of Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Chemistry. As it was judged necessary that his theological training should be conducted in England, and under the community to which he belonged, he repaired to Olney, and afterwards to Bristol, in which last city he attended the Baptist college. The course of education he now underwent was of that practical kind which the dissenting bodies in England have for the most part adopted, in which their students are employed in itinerating and preaching while attending the several classes. In this way Mr. Anderson acquired experience in the duties of his calling over an extensive field of action, and the acquaintanceship of many of those eminent divines with whom English dissenters at this period abounded. As little more, however, than a twelve-month was occupied with this probation, it may be guessed how few his opportunities must have been for the study of theology as a science, especially for the service of such a hard-headed reflecting people as the Scots; and how much was still to be learned and acquired by his own unaided application.

In 1806, Mr. Anderson returned to Edinburgh; and having engaged a small meeting-house, called Richmond Court chapel, he there assembled the little

flock, who had been waiting for his coming. Still, a congregation was to be gathered, for while on the forenoons of Sabbath his stated audience mustered from fifty to seventy persons, those in the evenings, when chapels in Edinburgh, as elsewhere, are commonly crowded, were not above two or three hundred hearers. As for the *real* congregation who would have joined in membership out of this miscellaneous assemblage, they did not amount to more than fourteen or fifteen. "I cannot as yet decide," he writes in this state of matters, "as to whether it would be my duty to settle here for life. A sphere of usefulness is what I desire, and it still must require time to ascertain whether it is such a sphere. I think another winter will show me how I ought to proceed, if it does not appear sooner." This hesitation on account of the doubtful state of affairs was increased by the avowed wish of many of his friends in England to secure his services among them as their pastor. At length he received a regular call from his congregation to be their minister at the close of the year, and although it was signed by only thirteen persons, he felt it his duty to comply, and his ordination took place on the 21st January, 1808. Thus brought to a decision, he laboured with diligence and faithfulness; and although slowly, the cause to which he had engaged himself continued to grow and prosper, so that in ten years the handful over which he originally presided had swelled into an attendance too numerous for the small chapel to contain. In 1818 he accordingly moved from Richmond Court to Charlotte chapel, a larger building, formerly belonging to the congregation of Bishop Sandford, which he purchased, and altered to his own taste and convenience. While his ten years' labours had been so successful, his cares had not been exclusively confined to the city of Edinburgh. His missionary zeal, through which he had originally devoted himself to the ministerial work, still continued unabated; and although he could no longer hope to traverse the opposite side of the earth in the conversion of Hindoos and Parsees, he found that there were people within the limits of the four seas equally benighted, and in need of his apostolic labours. The success, too, which had attended the evangelistic enterprises of the Haldanes and John Campbell in Scotland, encouraged him to follow their example, more especially as a lull had succeeded, so that the good work needed to be renewed. With all this he had been impressed so early as the period of his ordination; and, on accepting the ministry of the congregation of Richmond Court chapel, he had stated to them his purpose of itinerating from time to time as a preacher in his own country and in Ireland. Accordingly, his first tour for this purpose was to Perthshire, in March, 1808, and his second to Ayrshire soon after. In August and September of the same year, he made a preaching tour through Ireland; and in 1810 another in the north of Scotland as far as Dingwall. Finding, however, that the length and frequency of these journeys were likely to be prejudicial to the interests of his own congregation in Edinburgh, he organized a home mission for the support of a few itinerants in the Highlands, the expense of which, in the first instance, and the responsibility in after years, rested wholly upon himself. This society, which existed for seventeen years, and was productive of great benefit to the more remote districts of the Highlands, had found in Mr. Anderson so generous a benefactor, notwithstanding the limitation of his means, that at the closing of its accounts, his pecuniary advances to it as secretary, amounted to £240, independently of his periodic liberal donations. The sum above-mentioned was a fourth of the society's whole expenditure. A still more distinguished achievement was his originating the Edinburgh Bible Society, the plan

of which he adopted from that of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He had visited London in May, 1809, and being struck with the efficiency of the parent society, and the harmony which it promoted among the various divisions of Christians by whom it was supported, he was anxious to form a similar institution for Scotland, which he happily accomplished in 1810.

Although a minister of the smallest, the latest, and the least influential of all the sects in Scotland, Mr. Anderson was now acquiring note and influence in the religious world, which, however, he valued only as the incentive to further action, and the means of opening a wider sphere of Christian effort. He was, therefore, encouraged to enter a new field—that of authorship, by publishing a “Memorial on behalf of the native Irish, with a view to their improvement in moral and religious knowledge through the medium of their own Language.” This work, originally a small pamphlet, the result of his observations during a prolonged tour in Ireland in 1814, afterwards expanded into a duodecimo volume. Another similar effort was in behalf of the Highlands. At the meeting of the Edinburgh Bible Society, on the 22d of March, 1819, he laid upon their table a MS., entitled, a “Memorial respecting the diffusion of the Scriptures, particularly in the Celtic or Iberian Dialects.” This statement deservedly elicited the following resolution of the society’s committee:—“As the facts contained in these pages are such as should come before the eye of the public, and must be of service for some time to come, in regulating, as well as increasing, the zeal of those who desire the *general* diffusion of the Word of God throughout our native country; that the manuscript be returned to Mr. Anderson; that he be requested to prepare the same for the press and immediate circulation, and that the first copy of this memorial be transmitted to London, for the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.” The commission Mr. Anderson gladly fulfilled; and, after the publication of his work on this subject, the diffusion of Irish and Gaelic Bibles from the stores of the British and Foreign Bible Society was beyond all former precedent. Before this, however, he had made every effort that such a boon should not be useless, by having the poor Highlanders taught to read. His tour throughout their country, and especially beyond the Grampians, in 1810, had shown him not only the spiritual, but intellectual destitution of the people, while his benevolent heart was impatient until a fit remedy was applied. Accordingly, as soon as he returned from his tour, he opened a correspondence with Mr. Charles, of Bala, the originator of the “Circulating Day-Schools” in Wales; and having learned from him the educational plan pursued in that principality, and the benefits with which it was attended, he saw its fitness for the Highlands of Scotland, where the population was still more widely scattered. To draw out a benevolent plan, and proceed to execute it, was one and the same act with Mr. Anderson, and accordingly he convened a meeting of the friends of the Highlands, in the Edinburgh Exchange Coffee-house, presented his views and proposals, and was rewarded by seeing them carried into effect by the formation of “The Caledonian Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools,” afterwards called “The Gaelic School Society.” To this interesting institution his paternal cares were devoted for several years until it was firmly established, by an annual journey through the Highlands, for the inspection of schools, and attending to the applications made for schoolmasters.

The condition of Ireland once more occupied Mr. Anderson’s attention, and, in 1814, he again made a missionary tour in that island. On his return, he

published on the following year, a "Memorial in behalf of the native Irish." The effect of this work was startling: such was the amount of new information which he produced on the subject, the force and truthfulness with which he detailed it, and the cogency of his reasoning and appeals in behalf of unhappy benighted Ireland, that several benevolent societies in behalf of its people owed their origin to this production, while other similar societies, already in existence, were taught from it to alter and improve their rules according to the real state of circumstances. As this work was solely in reference to the education of the Gaelic-speaking Irish, he found it necessary to write a second upon the subject of preaching, and this he did in 1819, by his "Diffusion of the Scriptures in the Celtic or Iberian Dialects," afterwards enlarged by many additions into a volume, entitled "The Native Irish and their Descendants." Until these works were published, the British public was not generally aware that of the 196 islands composing part of Ireland, 140 of these, inhabited by 43,000 souls, were in a miserable state of spiritual destitution and wretchedness. The length of interval that occurred between these publications was too mournfully filled up, as the following extract from one of his letters to his talented and distinguished correspondent, Charlotte Elizabeth, will sufficiently explain: "But why, you will say, were the Sketches of 1828 so long delayed? Ah! that is a tender question; but since you also have been in affliction, and apparently much of it, I feel the less reserve, and can therefore go on. Did you observe a book advertised at the end of the Sketches? If you have ever chanced to see it, the dedication will explain more than I can now repeat, and yet it does not explain the whole. A beloved wife and three much-loved daughters are there mentioned; but ah! my friend, this was not the end. Two sons survived—but they also are gone, and the father to whom they were so much attached was left to plough the deep alone. But no, I am not alone, for the Father is with me, and I am often, often, a wonder to myself. The truth is, these two volumes, particularly the first, were composed amidst many tears—often fled to in order to keep the mind from falling to staves, and the Lord Jesus himself alone hath sustained me. The first volume was never read by the parties to whom it is dedicated; and as for the second, I often yet see my last, my beloved sole survivor, only four and a-half years of age, running into the room, and saying: 'And are you writing to the poor Irish yet, papa?' 'Yes, love, I am writing for them.' 'Oh, you are writing for them!'"

The pressure of these numerous and heavy domestic bereavements, which his sensitive heart felt so keenly, that at their height they had suddenly whitened his hair and furrowed his brow with the premature tokens of old age, compelled him gradually to withdraw from the toil of public business, and betake himself more closely to the retirement of his study. It was not, however, for the sake of indulging in melancholy, or even in literary indolence, for his work, entitled "The Domestic Constitution," was written during his attendance on the sick-chamber, and finished after his third visit to the family grave. Of this volume a new edition was subsequently prepared, with the following enlarged title, by which its bearing is better understood: "The Domestic Constitution; or, The Family Circle the Source and Test of National Stability." But the chief subjects of his study and research during the remaining period of his life, were the materials for his principal production, "The Annals of the English Bible." This voluminous work, like many in similar cases, originated in a single and temporary effort. The third centenary of Coverdale's translation of the Bible

having occurred in 1835, Mr. Anderson preached upon this subject on the 4th of October; and as he had made it for some time his particular study, the historical facts he adduced in the pulpit were so new, and withal so interesting to most of his hearers, that they earnestly requested him to publish the sermon. It was printed accordingly, under the title of "The English Scriptures, their First Reception and Effects, including Memorials of Tyndale, Frith, Coverdale, and Rogers." So cordial was its reception by the public, that he was advised to prepare an enlarged and improved edition; but on resuming his investigations for this purpose, new fields successively arose before him, so that not merely days, but whole years, were finally needed for the task. In this way, many a pamphlet has unexpectedly expanded into a folio. The very difficulties, however, as they grew and multiplied, only endeared the task to the heart of Mr. Anderson, and stimulated his enterprise, so that after he had fairly embarked in it, the great purpose of his life seemed to be unfulfilled until it was fully and fairly finished. He had previously, indeed, contemplated a history of all the translations of the Bible that had been made previous to the nineteenth century; but as this would have involved the history of almost every country, and been too much for any one mind to overtake, he contented himself with the English department of the subject, which he soon found to be ample enough. From 1837 to 1845 all his studies were devoted to it, while his researches extended through the library of the British Museum, the Bodleian at Oxford, the University library and others at Cambridge, the Baptist Museum at Bristol, and many private libraries and collections, from whose stores he filled whole volumes of note-books, which he arranged and turned to account in his study at home, after each pilgrimage of research. The result was a most voluminous publication, which the impatience of the general reading public scarcely cared to encounter, and therefore, when it appeared, the demand for it was, as it has still continued to be, extremely incommensurate with its merits and importance. But still, the "Annals of the Bible" is one of those works which possess a strong and lasting, though silent and unobtrusive, influence. Upon a most important subject it has gathered together those materials that hitherto were scattered over the whole range of English history and antiquarianism, and were only to be met with incidentally; and it serves as a store-house to the theologian, in which he finds ready to his hand what would otherwise have cost him whole days or weeks of tiresome investigation. In this way, it will continue to be reproduced in a variety of forms, and be conveyed through a thousand channels of religious public instruction, where even the name of the work itself, and its diligent meritorious author, are either passed without mention, or utterly forgot.

Amidst all these labours as an itinerant preacher, founder and secretary of religious societies, correspondent of foreign missionaries, and earnest painstaking author, Mr Anderson's diligence as a minister continued unabated; and it was rewarded by the increase of his little flock into a numerous congregation, and the esteem of the most eminent religious characters in Britain of all the different denominations. Annoyances, indeed, not a few he had to encounter among his own people during the decline of life, when the love of change had introduced new men and new measures among them; but into these congregational misunderstandings we have no desire to enter, not only as they were so recent, but so exclusively confined to the denomination among whom they originated. They were sufficient to darken his closing days with sorrow, and

make him complain of the ingratitude of those to whom his life and labours had been devoted. But still the promise given to the righteous was verified in his case, for his end was peace. He died at Edinburgh on the 18th of February, 1852, within a single day of completing the seventieth year of his age.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, of Gilnockie.—In the history of every country, however renowned, there is a period when its best men, or at least those who were reckoned so, were nothing but robbers or pirates. And yet they became the demigods of the country's worship, the heroes of its most cherished traditions, or the founders of its most illustrious families. It is not necessary to go so far back as the expedition of the Argonauts, or the exploits of Romulus, for an illustration of this great general fact. Later periods, and events more closely connected with ourselves, show, that such was also the case in Britain, so that, however edifying, it would be no very grateful task to investigate the characters of those men who "came in with William the Conqueror," or detail the doings of those who were the ancestors of our border nobility. But these men were needed in their day and generation, and they merely took the lead in that congenial society amidst which their lot had been cast. It was not wonderful, therefore, that their exploits should have been so highly admired, and their names so affectionately remembered. With these remarks we think it necessary to premise our introduction to the reader of such a man as John Armstrong, a mere border freebooter; and we introduce him the more readily, as he was the choice type and specimen of a class of men with whom Scotland especially abounded, and who continued to flourish in rank abundance, from the commencement of the war of Scottish independence against Edward I., to the Union of the two kingdoms, when the strong hand of the law could be extended over the whole island to quell or exterminate the turbulent, and reduce all to a common rule.

The name of Armstrong, like many others, was probably at first nothing more than a nickname. The race who bore it inhabited a large part of Liddesdale, and that territory called the Debatable Land, lying between the rivers Sark and Esk. This Debatable Land, as its name may intimate, was claimed by both kingdoms—a misfortune of which the Armstrongs seem to have frequently availed themselves, by plundering the people of both countries indifferently, and thus reaping a double harvest. As they were very numerous, their retainers extended far along the banks of the Liddel, in which the several captains of the clan sought, not a home, but a mere shelter from the enemies they provoked; and when these recesses could no longer defend them, they took refuge among morasses and swamps, the secure by-ways to which were only known to themselves, and where they could safely laugh at the pursuer. In consequence of their inroads upon English and Scots, they were finally proclaimed a broken clan, and were outlawed both by England and Scotland; but at the time of which we write, they were under the command of a chief called Armstrong of Mangertoun. John, the hero of the family, was a younger brother of Christopher Armstrong, its chief, and had his strong-hold at the Hollows, within a few miles of Langholm, where the ruins of the tower are still visible. To have acquired such a band of followers as rode at his bidding, and become so terrible to his enemies, as well as endeared to his friends, implies no small portion of courage, hardihood, and skill, manifested by many a border inroad. These achievements, unlike those of Robin Hood, appear to have passed away, having no gleeman to chronicle them to posterity; but such was their

effect, that his name was terrible over the Northumberland border, and well nigh to the gates of Newcastle, while for many miles the country was glad to pay him black mail, as the price of his protection or forbearance. It is gratifying, however, to find, that John was a staunch patriot after a fashion of his own, and that all the harm he wrought was against the enemies of his country. Such, at least, was his declaration to the king in the ballad that narrates his death; and it was not likely to have been attributed to him without some well-known foundation in fact:—

“ England suld have found me meal and mault,
Gin I had lived this hundred year!

“ Sche suld have found me meal and mault,
And beif and mutton in all plentie;
But never a Scots wife could have said,
That e'er I skalthed her a pure fleo.”

When James V. had emancipated himself from the thralldom of the Douglasses, and effected the downfall of that powerful family, he next turned his attention to those border chiefs who were every whit as dangerous. If Scotland was to be brought abreast with the other nations of Europe, and enabled to keep pace with them in that march of improvement which had now commenced, the existence of these men was incompatible with such a purpose. The king was well aware of this, and he resolved by the most summary measures either to break their power, or sweep them from his path. The plan he adopted to accomplish this was highly daring and picturesque. He issued a summons to all his earls, lords, barons, freeholders, and gentlemen, to assemble at Edinburgh with a month's provisions, and bring with them their best dogs, for a royal hunting expedition in the bounds of Teviotdale and Annandale. But it was intended to be a hunt in the fashion of Nimrod, and this John Armstrong was soon to experience. The royal cortege amounted to at least 10,000 men, and eighteen score of deer had already been struck down; but the “stag of ten” was still free and at large. The difficulty now was to bring Armstrong within their reach. He was therefore prevailed upon by some of the chief of the royal followers to wait upon the king, with the assurance that such a visit would be attended with no danger; and, without stipulating for pass or safe-conduct, he came in such a style of splendour as few border nobles could have equalled. Fifty well-horsed gentlemen, we are told, rode in his train, whose gallant bearing was well set off by the richest apparel and ornaments; and the king, unprovided for such a coming, and astonished at its splendour, imagined that at least some high dignitary of England, or foreign ambassador, was approaching his presence. He therefore bowed, and raised his plumed cap to the laird of Gilnockie; but no sooner did he understand that this was no other than the prince of border thieves, than he turned to his courtiers, and exclaimed in a burst of wrath and rhyme—

“ What wants you knave,
That a king should have?”

Armstrong soon perceived that he had not only approached the royal presence uninvited, but was to be made the victim of royal resentment. His train was unarmed, and retreat was impossible. He then had recourse to such offers for the ransom of himself and his followers, as give us a wondrous idea of his power and resources. The chief of these were, that he would support himself and forty

gentlemen for the king's service, and never take a penny from Scotland or a Scottish man; and that there was not a subject of England, duke, earl, lord, or baron, but within a certain day he would bring him to his majesty, either alive or dead. But to every offer the king was inflexible, so that Armstrong, seeing there was no further hope, drew himself up proudly, and exclaimed, "I am but a fool to seek grace of a graceless face. But had I known, sir, that you would have taken my life this day, I should have lived upon the Borders, in despite both of you and King Harry; for I know that King Harry would down-weigh my best horse with gold, to know that I was condemned to die this day."

This singular interview between the stern royal justiciary and the border freebooter, ended in the execution of the latter and his gallant retinue. The place at which it occurred was called Carlenrig Chapel, about ten miles above Hawick, on the high road to Langholm; and so much was the deed abhorred, that the growing trees on which they were hanged were declared by the common people to have withered away. After execution, the bodies were buried in a deserted church-yard, where their graves are still pointed out to strangers. The ballad from which we have already quoted, shows the undue national importance that was attached by the common people to his death; but it evinces also, that on more than one occasion he had done his country good service:—

"John murdered was at Carlinrigg,
And all his gallant cumpanie;
But Scotland's heart was ne'er sae wae,
To see sae mony brave men die——

"Because they saved their country deir,
Frae Englishmen. Nane were sae bauld,
Whyle Johnie lived on the Border syde,
Nane of them durst come near his hauld."

Pitcottie, a still better authority, thus sums up the bold borderer's history:—
"After this hunting, the king hanged John Armstrong, laird of Gilnockie, which many Scottish men heavily lamented; for he was a doubted man, and as good a chieftain as ever was upon the borders, either of Scotland or of England. And albeit he was a loose-living man, and sustained the number of twenty-four well-horsed, able gentlemen with him, yet he never molested no Scottish man. But it is said, from the Scottish border to Newcastle of England, there was not one of whatever estate but paid to this John Armstrong a tribute to be free of his cumber, he was so doubted in England." It is only necessary to add, that his descendants continue to the present day, and feel a justifiable pride in the good qualities of their border ancestor.

B

BAILLIE, JOANNA, authoress of "Plays on the Passions," and various other dramatic works and poems, was born on September 11, 1762, in the manse of Bothwell, in Lanarkshire. Her father, Dr. James Baillie, the minister of that parish, and subsequently professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow,

sprang from a family allied to that of the celebrated Principal Robert Baillie, and likewise to that of the Baillies of Jerviswood, memorable in the history of Scotland. All these lines were derived from the ancient stem of the Baillies of Lamington. Her mother, also, was one of a race well known in Scottish heraldry, for she was descended from the Hunters of Hunterston, and was the sister of William and John Hunter, both renowned in the annals of science. The children, by the marriage of Dr. James Baillie with Miss Hunter, were Agnes; Matthew, afterwards the eminent physician; and Joanna, a twin—the other child being still-born.

The early youth of Joanna Baillie was passed among the romantic scenes of Bothwell, where every element existed to awaken the fancy of the poet; but when she had attained her sixth year, the family removed to Hamilton, to the collegiate church of which place her father had been appointed. During her childhood, Joanna Baillie was no proficient in acquirement, yet, nevertheless, showed much originality and quickness of intellect. She made verses before she could read, and soon manifested dramatic talent. She took every opportunity of arranging among her young companions theatrical performances, in which her power of sustaining characters was remarkable, and she frequently wrote the dialogue herself. She was also conspicuous for fearlessness of disposition, which in after years displayed itself in moral courage—a virtue often prominent in her conduct. Notwithstanding the decided tendency of her mind, she did not become an author till at a later period than is usual with those who are subject to the strong impulses of genius. In 1778 her father died; and in 1784, his widow, with her daughters, having lived for some years at Long Calderwood, near Hamilton, proceeded to London to reside with her son, who had there entered on his medical career, and who, upon the death of his uncle, Dr. William Hunter, had become possessed of the house in Great Windmill Street, which the latter had built and inhabited.

It was in this abode that Joanna Baillie, in 1790, first resolved upon publication, and the result was a small volume of miscellaneous poems, to which she did not affix her name. These evinced considerable talent, but not the power she afterwards manifested. In 1798 she gave to the world, also anonymously, her first volume of dramas, in which the true bent of her genius was fully seen. This was entitled, "A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind, each Passion being the subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy," and these were accompanied by an introductory discourse of some length, in which dramatic composition was discussed, in which, also, many original views were announced, together with the peculiar system she proposed to adopt. Rich though the period was in poetry, this work made a great impression, and a new edition of it was soon required. The writer was sought for among the most gifted personages of the day, and the illustrious Scott, with others then equally appreciated, was suspected as the author. The praise bestowed upon "Basil and De Montfort" encouraged the authoress, and, in 1802, she published another volume of plays on the "Passions." Although much objection was made to the opinions she had enunciated in the preface to her first dramas, and though the criticism from an influential quarter was severe, she adhered to her purpose, and continued to write on the same plan which she had at first evolved; for, in 1812, she sent forth another volume of plays on the "Passions," and in 1836, three more volumes of plays, containing some in prosecution of her primary design, which she thus completed, and some on

miscellaneous subjects. Besides those above-mentioned, during the long period of her career, she published various other dramas, and all her writings in this form exhibit great originality, power, and knowledge of human nature. Her works also are rich in imagery, and a pure and energetic strain of poetry pervades them. For the great effects she produced she was little indebted to study, of which her pages bear few indications. The characters she portrayed, the stories on which her plays were founded, and the management of them, proceeded almost entirely from her own invention. She was the authoress, also, of some poems, as well as songs, of high merit, among which may be especially mentioned those well-known favourite Scottish ones entitled, "The bride, she is winsome an' bonnie," and "It fell on a morning when we were thrang;" and the lyrical compositions scattered through her dramas are distinguished by their freshness and beauty. Some of her plays were represented on the stage, but without much success. Passion in them is forcibly and faithfully delineated, but without those startling and effective situations calculated to obtain theatrical triumph. Unmarried, and dwelling out of London, she had not those opportunities of frequenting the theatre which are necessary for the production of compositions popular in representation. It must be remembered, also, that female delicacy places a limit not only to the exuberance of passion, but also to the choice of subjects, which interfered both with the force and variety of her plays.

After Joanna Baillie had left Scotland, in 1784, she did not return to her native land, except for occasional visits. Upon the marriage of her brother, in 1791, with Miss Denman, the sister of the Lord Chief-Justice Denman, Joanna Baillie, with her mother and sister, passed some years at Colchester, but subsequently settled at Hampstead, near London, where she resided for more than half a century. Her mother died in 1806, and her sole companion during the remainder of her life was her sister, whose character, virtues, and claims upon the affections of the poetess, are beautifully commemorated by her in an address to Miss Agnes Baillie on her birth-day. The means of Joanna Baillie were sufficient for every comfort, and enabled her to see many of the most distinguished individuals the great metropolis contained, who, attracted by her high reputation, her perfect simplicity of manners, and the talent and shrewdness of her conversation, resorted freely to her home. Sir Walter Scott was one of her warmest friends and most ardent admirers, as many passages in his writings declare. Joanna Baillie was under the middle size, but not diminutive, and her form was slender. Her countenance indicated high talent, worth, and decision. Her life was characterized by the purest morality. Her principles were sustained by a strong and abiding sense of religion, while her great genius, and the engrossing pursuits of composition, never interfered with her active benevolence, or the daily duties of life. She died in her house, in Hampstead, on the 23d day of February, 1851.

BALFOUR, DR. ROBERT.—This distinguished minister of the Church of Scotland, was born in Edinburgh, in April, 1740. He was early trained by his pious parents to the knowledge and practice of Christianity. He received his education at Edinburgh, and when only in the twelfth year of his age, came under decidedly religious impressions, which, joined to the natural amiability of his disposition, his promising talents, and diligence and success in his studies, gave a peculiar interest to his youthful character. When a mere youth, he became a member of a society which met for religious conversation and prayer. The devotional tendency of his mind, thus early acquired, was a prominent feature of his cha-

acter through life. Of his college career no record has been preserved; but that he soon gave indications of the talent which afterwards raised him to eminence, may be inferred from his having secured the friendship of Dr. Erskine, Lady Glenorchy, and other distinguished Christians of that day, who formed a high estimate of his abilities, and entertained sanguine expectations of his success as a preacher. In 1774, he was ordained to the ministry of the gospel in the small rural charge of Lecropt, near Stirling. Here he laboured with much acceptance and usefulness for five years, not inattentive meanwhile to his personal improvement, and in his pulpit duties giving no doubtful premisses of the professional distinction and influence to which he was destined to rise. In June, 1779, he was translated to the Outer High Church of Glasgow, then vacant by the removal of Mr. Randal (afterwards Dr. Davidson) to Edinburgh.

At the time of Dr. Balfour's settlement in Glasgow, evangelical religion was at a low ebb in the Established Church throughout Scotland, and a blighting Moderatism was in the ascendant. Dr. Balfour, from the outset of his ministry, warmly espoused the evangelical cause, which he recommended alike by the power of his preaching, and by the active benevolence and consistency of his life. His ministry in Glasgow gave a fresh impulse to the revival and diffusion of pure and undefiled religion in the west of Scotland. Christian missions were then in their infancy, and in Scotland met with much opposition from the dominant party in the Established Church. In the General Assembly of 1796, missionary enterprise to the heathen was denounced as corrupting the innocence and happiness of savage life, and missionary societies as "highly dangerous in their tendency to the good order of society" in this country. It was on this memorable occasion that Dr. Erskine, then in his seventy-fifth year, vindicated the scriptural claims and obligations of missions to the heathen, in a speech which has become famous for its exordium—"Moderator, rax me that Bible!" Dr. Balfour was one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society, which was established in 1796, a few months after the institution of the London Missionary Society. He preached a striking sermon at the commencement of the Society, which was one of the few discourses he ventured on publishing; and one of his last public acts, twenty-two years afterwards, was to sign a circular letter as its president. The following passage from the discourse just mentioned, bears testimony to the earnest interest he felt in the missionary cause, and affords an example of a style of appeal, which, with the aid of his melodious voice, keen eye, and graceful and fervid elocution, must have proved singularly animating. After describing the true missionary spirit and character, he proceeded—"We invite and press all of this description to come forward full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. We cannot, we will not tempt you with worldly prospects—if you are right-hearted men according to your profession, you will not seek great things for yourselves—you must not think of an easy life—you must labour hard—you must encounter difficulties, opposition, and dangers; for these, however, you are not unprovided. * * * We will follow you with our prayers, and with every blessing in our power to bestow. But what is of infinitely greater moment and advantage to you is, that the Lord Jesus, whose religion you are to teach, will be with you, and that he is greater than all who can be against you. Depending, then, on Him alone for your own salvation, and for the salvation of the heathen, seeking not your own pleasure, profit, or honour, but that he may be glorified in and by you, and by sinners converted from the error of their way, be not afraid—be strong and of good courage. To all who thus

devote themselves to his service, we most heartily bid God speed. Fly, ye angels of grace, from pole to pole, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth, bearing to all men the glad tidings of the everlasting gospel; stop not in this bold flight of philanthropy, till you convey to the simple sons of the isles the knowledge of the true God and eternal life—till you arrest the wanderings of the roving savage with the wonders of redeeming grace—till you dart the beams of celestial light and love into the dark habitations of ignorance and cruelty—till you convert the barbarous cannibal to humanity, to Christian gentleness and goodness. Hasten to the shores of long-injured Africa, not to seize and sell the bodies of men, but to save their perishing souls. Follow the miserable captives to their several sad destinations of slavery, with the inviting proclamation of spiritual liberty, while you inculcate the strictest duty to their masters. Speed your way to India, to repay her gold with the unsearchable riches of Christ. Meet all the high pretensions of the Brahmin religion and literature, and all their fatal delusions and cruel impositions, with the overpowering evidence of the Christian as a divine revelation—with the full luminous display of evangelical truth and holiness. Cease not, till you see the whole earth filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the channel of the sea.”

Dr. Baifour was “an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures.” But his was not an eloquence which sought its reward in popular applause. It flowed spontaneously from a heart deeply imbued with love to the Saviour and to the souls of men. Earnest preaching made earnest listening, and whilst his reputation in the pulpit continued unimpaired to the close of his life, the fruits of his ministry were abundant, and his influence extended far beyond the limits of his own congregation. His preaching was clear and comprehensive; textual, luminous, and pointed; exhibiting a remarkable intimacy with the varieties of Christian experience, and a profound knowledge of human nature; animated with a warm and persuasive earnestness; faithful and close in applying the truth; and exhibiting an exuberant flow of appropriate and powerful expression. All his pulpit addresses bore the impress of the cross; he preached Christ and the doctrines of salvation by free grace with simplicity and godly sincerity. “Those who have listened to him,” wrote his attached friend, the late Dr. Wardlaw, “in his happy moments of warm and passioned elevation, have heard him pour forth the fulness of an affectionate spirit; warning, alarming, inviting, persuading, beseeching; his whole soul thrown into his countenance; and, in his penetrating eye, the fire of ardent zeal gleaming through the tears of benignity and love.” His preaching engagements were frequent, and he was always ready to afford his services on every call of public usefulness. He was not in the habit of writing his discourses at full length, but his preparations for the pulpit were never relaxed. Although not displaying the plodding habits of the scholar, he kept up his knowledge of general literature, and cultivated an acquaintance with the works of the best authors in his own profession. His morning hours were consecrated to study and devotion. He possessed the power of readily commanding his thoughts in the intervals of daily occupation, and was in the habit, to use his own expression, of “carrying about” with him the subjects on which he intended to preach. His stores of thought and illustration were ample and exuberant, and, being gifted with a ready utterance, he could on every occasion express himself with ease and propriety. Without the appearance of much labour, therefore, he was able to appear in the pulpit with a felicity and success to which men of inferior minds

find it impossible to attain after the most laborious efforts. He seldom engaged in controversy, and did not often obtrude himself upon the notice of church courts, for the business of which, however, he showed no want of aptitude. His modesty and humility prevented him from issuing more than a few of his more public and elaborate productions through the press. An anecdote is related of him, which illustrates his disinclination to publish, as well as the readiness with which he could draw in an emergency upon the resources of his richly-stored mind. On one occasion, after having preached with much acceptance on the divinity of Christ, he was waited upon by a young man, who, on his own part and that of two companions, preferred an urgent request that he would print his discourse, assigning as a reason that it had completely relieved their minds of doubts which they had been led to entertain on this momentous doctrine, and that it was fitted to have the same effect upon the minds of others similarly situated. On the Doctor expressing his aversion to appear in print, his visitor entreated the favour of a perusal of the manuscript. In this he was equally unsuccessful; for it then appeared that the Doctor, on proceeding to the church, had found himself—from some unwonted and inexplicable cause—utterly incapable of recalling the train of thought which had occupied his mind in preparing for the pulpit; and at the last moment he was under the necessity of choosing a new text, from which he delivered the unpremeditated discourse that had produced such a salutary impression upon the minds of his three youthful hearers.

The ministrations of Dr. Balfour were not confined to the pulpit; he laboured assiduously from house to house, and proved himself a "son of consolation" in chambers of sickness and death. His philanthropy and public spirit led him also to take an active interest in every object for the relief and comfort of suffering humanity. His comprehensive Christian charity embraced all of every name in whom he recognized the image of his Lord and Master. Although himself conscientiously attached to the Established Church, he exemplified a generous and cordial liberality towards those who dissented from her communion. Christians of every persuasion united in esteeming and loving him; and his praise was in all the churches. When called up to the metropolis in 1790, to preach before the London Missionary Society, he gave expression to views of Christian catholicity and union, which the organizations of later times have scarcely yet realized:—"Why," said he, "may not every Christian society, and all denominations of Christian society, anticipate in their experience and relative situations, and exemplify to the world that happy state of things which we believe shall take place at the time appointed of the Father, and shall continue in the world for a thousand years? Though we cannot agree in all our views of divine truth, and therefore *must* have our separate churches to maintain our several distinct professions of Christian tenets, I have often thought that we might, with an equally good conscience, meet occasionally, not only to converse, and pray, and sing praise, but to eat together the Lord's Supper, in testimony of the faith and profession of fundamental principles wherein we are more closely united than we are by other things removed from one another. * * * O thrice blessed day! God of love, thy kingdom come! Prince of peace, let thy rest be visible and glorious! O! gracious Divine Spirit, fly like the peaceful dove over the field of universal nature, to produce, preserve, promote, and perfect the reign of kindness and of happiness, till misery be banished from the earth, murmurs be silenced, love and gratitude be excited, charity and generosity triumph, and all

things which are on earth be reconciled to God, and to the whole world of the intelligent and moral creation."

His attachment to his congregation, which embraced many godly persons, was evinced on the occasion of his receiving an offer to be presented to Lady Glenorchy's chapel in Edinburgh, which he declined, although in a worldly point of view it possessed considerable advantages over his charge in Glasgow. He was alike frank, friendly, and accessible to all classes of his people, and had always a kind word for the poor. He showed great tact in dealing with the humbler members of his flock, who sometimes came to the good man with unreasonable complaints. When the old-fashioned practice of the precentor reading line by line of the psalm was discontinued, an ancient dame presented herself to the minister, to express her concern at the innovation, at the same time gently reproaching him for departing from a good old custom of our pious forefathers—a custom, be it remembered, which had been introduced at a time when few persons in a congregation were able to read. "Oh, Janet," replied the doctor, in a tone of kindly remonstrance, "I read the psalm, and you sing it; what's the use of coming over it a third time?" "Ou sir," was the ready answer, "I juist like to gust my gab wi't!" In process of time "repeating tunes" were introduced in the precentor's desk, and Janet hastened forthwith to the minister, to lodge her complaint against the profane innovation. "What's the matter wi' ye now?" inquired the doctor, as he welcomed the worthy old dame into his presence. "The sang tunes, wi' their o'ercomes brocht into the worship of the sanctuary," quoth she; "it's juist usin' vain repetitions, as the heathens do." "Oh dear no, Janet," slyly interposed the doctor, "we juist like to gust our gabs wi't!"

Dr. Balfour married, in November, 1774, Isabella Stark, daughter of Mr. Stark, collector of excise at Kirkcaldy. She died in October, 1781. In June, 1787, he married Catherine McGilchrist, daughter of Mr. Archibald McGilchrist, town-clerk of the city of Glasgow. She died in May, 1817. These were not the only instances of domestic bereavement which he experienced in the course of his life. He preached on the day after the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Dumbarton, in July, 1786, with an earnestness and solemnity more fervid and impressive than ordinary, as if his mind were under a powerful impulse. On his way home he received information of the death of a beloved and only son, in circumstances fitted deeply to wound his heart. Henry, a fine spirited boy, had been left by his father, then a widower, during an absence of some days, under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Denniston of West Thorn, and was accidentally drowned in the Clyde. After recovering from the first paroxysm of grief occasioned by the heart-rending intelligence, Dr. Balfour hastened to tender his sympathy to his deeply afflicted friends, whose kindness had been permitted to prove the innocent cause of involving him and his family in this calamity. This he did, in the first instance, in a letter of touching pathos and beauty, which afterwards found its way to the public, and was embodied in a little volume of "Letters addressed to Christians in Affliction," published in 1817. The death of his son Archibald took place many years previously, on the day when he preached the sermon by appointment of the Glasgow Missionary Society. His own death was sudden. On the 13th of October, 1818, Dr. Balfour appeared to be in his usual health and spirits. In the course of the day he became unwell while walking out with a friend, and made an effort to return home. But his illness increasing, he was assisted into a friend's house in George Street,

from which it was deemed imprudent to attempt to remove him. The symptoms were found to be those of apoplexy. He continued in a state of insensibility till the evening of the next day, the 14th, when he expired. He died in the seventy-first year of his age and forty-fifth year of his ministry. Of his whole family, only two daughters survived him: by his first marriage, Isabella, married to John Duncan Esq., merchant, Glasgow, son of his old friend, the Rev. Mr. Duncan of Alva; and Margaret, by his second marriage. We cannot better conclude our brief sketch of the life of this estimable man and eminent minister, than by the following tribute to his memory by Dr. Chalmers, who, when settled in Glasgow, ever found a true friend in Dr. Balfour, one perfectly free from all professional jealousy, and who rejoiced at the progress and success of that great man's peculiar parochial labours:—

"The pulpit is not the place for panegyric, but surely it is the place for demonstrating the power of Christianity, and pointing the eye of hearers to its actual operation; and without laying open the solitude of his religious exercises, without attempting to penetrate into the recesses of that spirituality which, on the foundation of a living faith, shed the excellence of virtue over the whole of his character, without breaking in upon the hours of his communion with his God, or marking the progress and the preparation of his inner man for that heaven to which he has been called,—were I called upon to specify the Christian grace which stood most visibly and most attractively out in the person of the departed, I would say that it was a cordiality of love, which, amid all the perversities and all the disappointments of human opposition, was utterly unextinguishable; that over every friend who differed from him in opinion he was sure to gain that most illustrious of all triumphs, the triumph of a charity which no resistance could quell; that from the fulness of his answered heart there streamed a kindliness of regard, which, whatever the collision of sentiment, or whatever the merits of the contest, always won for him the most Christian and the most honourable of all victories. And thus it was that the same spirit which bore him untainted through the scenes of public controversy, did, when seated in the bosom of his family, or when moving through the circle of his extended acquaintanceship, break out in one increasing overflow of good-will on all around him; so that, perhaps, there is not a man living who, when he comes to die, will be so numerously followed to the grave by our best of all mourners—the mourners of wounded affection, the mourners of the heart, the mourners who weep and are in heaviness under the feeling of a private, and a peculiar, and a personal bereavement."

BALMER, REV. ROBERT, D.D.—This profound theologian and valued ornament of the Secession church, was born at Ormiston Main, in the parish of Eckford, Roxburghshire, on the 22d of November, 1787. His father, who was a land-steward, was a man in comfortable though not affluent circumstances, and Robert's earliest education—besides the ordinary advantages which the peasantry of Scotland possessed—enjoyed the inestimable benefit of a careful religious superintendence, both of his parents being distinguished for piety and intelligence. The result of such training was quickly conspicuous in the boy, who, as soon as he could read, was an earnest and constant reader of the Bible, while his questions and remarks showed that he studied its meaning beyond most persons of his age. His thirst for general knowledge was also evinced by a practice sometimes manifested by promising intellectual boyhood—this was the arresting of every stray leaf that fell in his way, and making himself master of its contents, instead of throwing it carelessly to the winds. On the death of

his father, Robert, who, although only ten years old, was the eldest of the family, on the evening of the day of the funeral, quietly placed the books for family worship before his widowed mother, as he had wont to do before his departed parent when he was alive. She burst into tears at this touching remembrance of her bereavement, but was comforted by the considerate boy, who reminded her that God, who had taken away his father, would still be a Father to them, and would hear them—"and, mother," he added, "we must not go to bed to-night without worshipping him." Consolation so administered could not be otherwise than effectual: the psalm was sung, the chapter read, and the prayer offered up by the sorrowing widow in the midst of her orphans; and the practice was continued daily for years, until Robert was old enough to assume his proper place as his father's representative.

The studious temperament of Robert Balmer, which was manifested at an early period, appears to have been not a little influenced by his delicate health, that not only prevented him from joining in the more active sports of his young companions, but promoted that thoughtfulness and sensibility by which sickly boyhood is frequently characterised. The same circumstance also pointed out to him his proper vocation; and he said, on discovering his inability even for the light work of the garden, "Mother, if I do not gain my bread by my head, I'll never do it with my hands." As to which of the learned professions he should select, the choice may be said to have been already made in consequence of his domestic training: he would be a minister of the gospel, and that, too, in the Secession Church to which his parents belonged. He proceeded to the study of Latin, first at the parish school of Morebattle, and afterwards that of Kelso, at the latter of which seminaries he formed a close acquaintanceship with his schoolfellow, Thomas Pringle, afterwards known as the author of "African Sketches," which was continued till death. In 1802 Mr. Balmer entered the University of Edinburgh, and, after passing through the usual course of classical, ethical, and scientific study, was enrolled as a student in theology in connection with the Associate Synod. Even already he had established for himself such a respectable intellectual reputation, that his young brethren in preparation for the ministry received him with more than ordinary welcome. As Dr. Lawson, the Theological Professor of the Associate Synod, lectured only for two months of each year, at the end of summer and commencement of autumn, Mr. Balmer, in common with several of his fellow-students, attended the regular course of theology during the winters at the university of Edinburgh. They thus availed themselves of the two-fold means of improvement which they possessed, without any compromise of their principles being exacted in return; and the fruits of this were manifest in after life, not only by the highly-superior attainments of many of the Secession ministry, but the liberal spirit and kindly feeling which they learned to cherish toward their brethren of the Established Church, and the affectionate intercourse that often continued between them to the end. This, however, alarmed some of the elder and more rigid brethren of the Synod: they thought that this liberality savoured of lukewarmness, and would in time prove a grievous snare; and, under the impression, an overture was introduced into the Synod, for the prevention of all such erratic courses in future. The students of Selkirk, who studied under Dr. Lawson, took the alarm at this threatened restriction, and the petition and remonstrance presented by them in vindication was drawn up by Mr. Balmer. Although some indignation was expressed at the students for the liberty they had thus

taken in addressing the supreme court of their church, the petition was received by the Synod, and the obnoxious overture dismissed. One of the senior and leading members observed on this occasion, that he would be sorry to see any measure adopted which would tend to drive from their body the man who could write such a paper.

After having finished the four years' course of divinity prescribed by the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, it was expected that Mr. Balmer should apply for license as a preacher. This was the more necessary in the communion to which he belonged, as the number of its licentiates scarcely equalled that of the vacant congregations. But, to the surprise of his friends, he held back for two years, although his delay was attributed to unworthy motives. Already one of the most promising students of the connection, it was thought that he demurred from mere pride of intellect, and was unwilling to identify himself with a cause which as yet had produced so few men of high mark: others, who were aware that he had already been advised to pass over to the Established Church, and share in its honours and emoluments, imagined that he had taken the advice to heart, and only waited the fit season for such a step. But these surmises were as unkind as they were untrue. His ambition went no higher than to be the humble, useful minister of some country Burgher congregation, while his humility confirmed him in the belief that he would have for his brethren men of still higher attainments than his own. His delay entirely originated in scruples of conscience. He had thought anxiously and profoundly upon the subject, and could not wholly admit the formula which he would be required to subscribe as a licentiate. "On the question," he afterwards said, "demanding an assent to the Confession and Catechisms, I stated, that to me these documents appeared so extensive and multifarious as to be disproportioned to the narrow limits of the human mind; that I at least had not studied every expression in them so carefully as to be prepared to assent to it with the solemnity of an oath; that I approved of them, however, in so far as I had studied them; and that the Presbytery might ascertain, by strict examination, the amount of my attainments, and treat me accordingly—which of course they did." His scruples were respected, his explanations in assenting to the formula admitted, and on the 4th of August, 1812, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh.

On commencing the great work to which all his studies had been hitherto directed, and all his life was to be henceforth devoted, Mr. Balmer began under rather inauspicious circumstances. All are aware how essential certain external advantages are in the formation of an acceptable and popular preacher, and how completely a Dissenting preacher depends upon this popularity for his call to the ministry, and the successful discharge of his duties. But in the graces of person and manner Mr. Balmer was decidedly wanting. His eyes, from their weakness, had an unpleasant cast, and his figure was ungainly; his voice was monotonous; and his gestures were, to say the least, inelegant. For a person in his position to surmount such obstacles argued a mind of no ordinary power. And he did surmount them. Such was the depth and originality of thought, the power of language, and heart-moving unction which his sermons possessed, that his growing acceptability bade fair in a short time to convert these defects into positive excellencies in the eyes of his captivated auditories. In a few months he received calls from not less than four congregations, so that he would have been in a strait to choose, had not the laws of his church provided for such

doubtful emergencies. Amid such competition, the choice devolved upon the Synod, modified, however, by the personal wishes of the preacher thus called; and on Balmer expressing a preference for the congregation at Berwick, he was ordained its minister on the 23d of March, 1814.

The life of a Secession minister in a third-rate town affords few points for a limited memoir. They are also of such a regular monotonous character, that the history of a single month is a sufficient specimen of whole years so occupied. And yet, while thus employed, Mr. Balmer was neither a dull nor inefficient workman. He threw the whole of his large intellect and warm heart into his sacred duties; and while he secured the love of his congregation, his reputation was silently growing and going onward, until, without seeking it, he found himself a man of high mark and influence in that important segment of the church universal to which he belonged. And all the while he was continuing to improve his faculties, and extend his intellectual resources, for his was not a mind to rest satisfied with past acquirements, however sufficient they might be for the present demand. Events also occurred, or were searched out and found sufficient to keep up that wholesome stir of mind without which the best of duties are apt to become a monotonous task. Among these was the exercise of his pen in a review of the work of "Hall of Leicester on Terms of Communion," which was inserted in two numbers of the *Christian Repository* of 1817. He was also on several occasions a visitor to London, whither he was called on clerical duty; and in these southward journeys he enjoyed much "colloquy sublime" with Robert Hall, of whom his reminiscences are among the most interesting that have appeared of that great pulpit orator and theological metaphysician. He also took a keen interest in the union of the two parties of the Secession Church, known by the names of Burghers and anti-Burghers, which took place in 1820. This was an event that was dear to his heart, for not only was he a lover of Christian concord, and the enemy of all infinitesimal distinctions that keep brethren asunder, but he had been born in that union; for although his father and mother had belonged to the different parties, they had always lived and acted as those who are completely at one. In 1826 he married Miss Jane Scott, daughter of Mr. Alexander Scott of Aberdeen, and sister of John Scott, the well-known author of "Visits to Paris." In the year following he was involved—as what minister in Scotland was not more or less involved—in what is still vividly remembered under the name of the "Apocrypha Controversy." Mr. Balmer endeavoured on this occasion to reconcile the contending parties, and was requited by the suspicions of the one, and the active hostility of the other, for his pains. Such was the fate of not a few at this time who endeavoured to perform the part of peacemakers. They are "blessed" indeed—but not of men, and must look elsewhere than to the earth for their reward. After the Apocryphal, the Voluntary controversy predominated, in which the Secession, utterly renouncing the Establishment principle, which it had hitherto recognized in theory, became thoroughly and completely a Dissent, by proclaiming the inexpediency and unlawfulness of civil establishments of religion, and contending for a separation between Church and State. On this occasion, Mr. Balmer took the part that might have been expected from his character and situation. He was allied in friendship with many ministers of the Established Church; and, in common with many of his brethren, he was conscious of the fickleness of popular rule. All this was well so long as the question was left to every man's conscience. But when it swelled into

a public controversy, and when every person was obliged to take a side, and be either the friend or the enemy of Voluntaryism, Mr. Balmer acted as every Secession minister did, who still meant to abide at his post, instead of passing over to the opposite church. He thought that the voluntary system although an evil, was the least evil of the two, and therefore he became its apologist and advocate.

On the death of Dr. Dick of Glasgow, who for thirteen years had been professor of theology in the Associate, and afterwards of the United Associate Synod, it was resolved to establish three divinity professorships, instead of one. On this occasion Mr. Balmer's high talents were recognized, by his appointment in 1834, first to the chair of pastoral theology, and afterwards to that of systematic theology. Although Glasgow was the sphere of his professorship, his duties called him away from Berwick only two months in the year. The duties of such a brief session, however, were scarcely less than those of a six months' course in our well-endowed universities. The following is an account of them given by one of his pupils:—"It is not, I presume, necessary to say more of the nature of his course than that it consisted of five parts—one preliminary, on the Christian evidences; one supplementary, on Christian morals; the other three consisting respectively of—topics in Revelation preparatory to the scheme of redemption; of the work of the Redeemer; and of the blessings of redemption. Those subjects were gone over in a series of lectures, extending over the last three years of the students' course. Each session occupied eight weeks, and the number of weekly lectures, each of an hour's length, was five, so that the total number delivered in a full course was, after every abatement for interruption and irregularity, somewhere below one hundred and twenty. Another hour daily was somewhat irregularly divided between examinations, or rather oral lectures, and hearing of the discourses of between forty and fifty students, in the third and fifth years of their progress, to which was sometimes added an occasional voluntary essay." Of the manner in which these duties were discharged, the same pupil affectionately adds:—"Who can ever forget the hours spent in hearing these prelections, or the singularly impressive manner of him by whom they were delivered? The simplicity of the recluse student, exalted into the heavenliness of mature saintship—the dignified composure, mixed with kindly interest—the look of unworldly purity and abstract intelligence, that more than redeemed the peculiar and unpromising features—the venerable hoary head, that no one could refuse to rise up and honour—all strongly fixed the eye; and then came the full stream of a never-to-be-forgotten voice, monotonous only in simple and unimportant sentences, but varied in striking cadence through all the members of an exquisitely balanced period, and now kindling into animation and emphasis in the glow of argument, now sinking into thrilling solemnity and tenderness with the falls of devout emotion; while all the while no play of look, or fervour of tone, or strange sympathetic gesture, could disturb your idea of the reigning self-possession and lofty moral dignity of the speaker. Never had lecturer a more attentive audience. The eagerness of note taking alone broke the general silence."

When these important labours were finished, Mr. Balmer returned at the end of each session to Berwick, not for the purpose of rest, however, but to resume his clerical duties with double vigour. In this way his life went on from year to year—silent indeed, and overlooked by the world in general; but who can trace or fully estimate the effects of such a life upon the generations to come? He who in such fashion rears up teachers of religion may live and die unnoticed,

but never unfelt: his deeds will travel onward, from generation to generation, even when his name has utterly passed away; he will still live and instruct, in his pupils, and the disciples of his pupils, though his dust may long ago have mouldered in the winds. In 1840 Mr. Balmer received from the university of St. Andrews the degree of Doctor in Divinity, which was spontaneously conferred upon him by the Senatus, without influence or solicitation. During the latter years of his life, a controversy was agitated in the United Secession, upon the extent of the atonement, which threatened at one time to rend that church asunder, and which even yet has not been terminated. In such a case, it could not be otherwise than that Dr. Balmer, however unwillingly, should express his sentiments upon the question at issue. This he did, but with such gentleness and moderation, as to soften the keenness of debate, and increase the general esteem in which he was held by all parties. After this his season arrived in which every theological doubt and difficulty ends in unswerving and eternal certainty. A short but severe illness, the result of mental anxiety acting upon a feeble frame—the first and last attack of serious pain and sickness he had ever felt—ended his life on the 1st of July, 1844. This event, however anticipated from his years and growing infirmities, not only threw his whole congregation into the deepest sorrow, each individual feeling himself bereaved of an honoured and affectionate father, but struck with a sudden thrill the extensive Associate Secession church through its whole range in Scotland and England. Even the funeral of Dr. Balmer was significant of his catholic liberality and high talents—of one who had lived in Christian peace and love with all, and won the admiration and esteem of all; for in the town business was suspended, the inhabitants assembled as if some prince of the land was to be honoured and bewailed in his death, and the coffin was followed to the grave by the ministers of every denomination, both of the English and Scottish Establishment and Dissent, who dwelt in the town and country. A monumental obelisk was soon after erected over the grave by his affectionate congregation. Two volumes of his writings have also been published since his death, the one consisting of Pulpit Discourses, and the other of Academical Lectures, in which the high estimate taken of his talents by the church to which he belonged is fully justified.

BARTON, ANDREW, High Admiral of Scotland.—The fifteenth century was the great era of maritime adventure and discovery; and in these it might have been expected that Scotland would have taken her full share. The troubled state of the country, however, and the poverty of its sovereigns, prevented the realization of such a hope. There was no royal navy, and such ships as were to be found in the Scottish service were merchant vessels, and the property of private individuals. Still, there was no lack of stout hardy sailors and skilful commanders; and although the poverty of Scotland was unable to furnish those ample means that were necessary for remote and uncertain voyages of discovery, the same cause made them eager to enjoy the advantages of traffic with those countries that were already known. Another cause of this was the long peace with England during the reign of Henry VII., so that those daring spirits who could no longer find occupation in fight or foray by land, were fain to have recourse to the dangers of another element. The merchant, also, who embarked with his own cargo, was obliged to know something more than the gainful craft of a mere trader. He was captain as well as proprietor, and had to add the science of navigation and the art of warfare on sea, to that of skilful bargaining on shore, and thus, in every variety of ways, his intellectual powers were tried

and perfected. This was an occupation well fitted to the Scottish mind, in which it consequently became so pre-eminent, that during the reigns of James III. and James IV., it seemed a doubtful question whether Scotland or England was to bear the "meteor flag" of the island; and of the merchant captains of this period, the most distinguished were Sir Andrew Wood, of Largo; Sir Alexander Mathieson; William Merrimonth, of Leith, who, for his naval skill, was called the "king of the sea," and the Bartons.

This Barton family, which for two generations produced naval commanders of great celebrity, first appeared in Scottish history in 1476. This was in consequence of John Barton, the father of Andrew, having been plundered, and as it has been added, murdered, by the Portuguese, who at that period were all-prevalent upon the ocean. The unfortunate mariner, however, had three sons, the oldest of whom was Andrew, all brought up from boyhood in his own profession, and not likely to allow their father's death to pass unquestioned. Andrew accordingly instituted a trial in Flanders, where the murder was perpetrated, and obtained a verdict in his favour; but the Portuguese refusing to pay the awarded penalty, the Bartons applied to their own sovereign for redress. James accordingly sent a herald to the king of Portugal; but this application having also been in vain, he granted to the Bartons letters of reprisal, by which they were allowed to indemnify themselves by the strong hand upon the ships of the Portuguese. And such a commission was not allowed to lie idle. The Bartons immediately threw themselves into the track of the richly-laden carracks and argosies of Portugal in their homeward way from India and South America; and such was their success, that they not only soon indemnified themselves for their losses, but obtained a high reputation for naval skill and valour. Among the rich Indian spoil that was brought home on this occasion, were several Hindoo and negro captives, whose ebony colour and strange features astounded, and also alarmed the simple people of Scotland. James IV. turned these singular visitants to account, by making them play the part of Ethiopian queens and African sorcerers in the masques and pageants of his court. This was in itself a trifle, but it gave a high idea of the growing naval importance of Scotland, when it could produce such spectacles as even England, with all its superior wealth, power, and refinement, was unable to furnish.

It was not merely in such expeditions which had personal profit or revenge for their object that the Bartons were exclusively employed; for they were in the service of a master (James IV.) who was an enthusiast in naval affairs, and who more than all his predecessors understood the necessity of a fleet as the right arm of a British sovereign. This was especially the case in his attempts to subjugate the Scottish isles, that for centuries had persisted in rebellion under independent kinglings of their own, and in every national difficulty had been wont to invade the mainland, and sweep the adjacent districts with fire and sword. For the purpose of reducing them to complete obedience, James not only led against them an army in person, but employed John Barton, one of the three brothers, to conduct a fleet, and invade them by sea. The use of ships in such a kind of warfare was soon apparent: the islanders retreated from the royal army, as heretofore, in their galleys, and took refuge among their iron-bound coasts, but found these no longer places of safety when their fastnesses were assailed from the sea, and their strong castles bombarded. The chiefs, therefore, yielded themselves to the royal authority, and from thenceforth lived in most unwonted submission. While thus the Scottish flag waved over those

islands that had hitherto been the strongholds of rebellion, another of the Bartons was employed to vindicate its dignity abroad and among foreigners. This was Andrew, who for some time had held with his brothers the chief direction of maritime affairs in Scotland, and been employed in the formation of a royal navy, as well as in cruises against the rich carracks of Portugal. The Hollanders, in the true spirit of piracy by which the maritime communities of Europe were at this time inspired, had attacked a small fleet of Scottish merchant vessels, and not only plundered them, but murdered the crews, and thrown their bodies into the sea. This outrage, from a people with whom the Scots were at peace, was not to be tolerated, and Andrew Barton was sent with a squadron to chastise the offenders. And this he did with a merciless severity that reminds us of the "Douglas Larder." He captured many of the piratical ships, and not only put their crews to death, but barrellled their heads in the empty casks which he found in the vessels, and sent them home to his sovereign, to prove how well he had discharged his duty.

The time had now arrived, however, when Andrew Barton, after having made so many successful cruises, was to fall upon the deck where he had so often stood a conqueror. His death, also, strangely enough, was mainly owing to the tortuous intrigues of a pontiff, about whom, it is probable, he had heard little, and cared still less. Julius II. having formed designs of political self-aggrandizement which a war between France and England would have prevented, was anxious to find the latter sufficient occupation at home, with its turbulent neighbours, the Scots. Portuguese envoys, therefore, at the English court represented to Henry VIII. the whole family of the Bartons as pirates, who indiscriminately plundered the ships of every country; and they charged Andrew, in particular, with these offences, and represented how desirable it would be if the English seas could be rid of his presence. Henry listened to these suggestions, and, with his wonted impetuosity assented to their fulfilment, although a war with Scotland was at that time the least desirable event that could have befallen him. It has also been alleged by English writers, that Andrew Barton, in his war against the Portuguese, had not been over-scrupulous in confining himself to his letters of reprisal, but had also overhauled and pillaged English vessels, under the pretext that they had Portuguese goods on board. Such, at least, was generally believed in England; and the Earl of Surrey, to whom the naval affairs of the kingdom chiefly belonged, is declared to have sworn that the narrow seas should no longer be thus infested, while his estate could furnish a ship, or his family a son to command it.

The threat of Surrey was not an idle one. He fitted out two men-of-war, one of them the largest in the English navy, and sent them under the command of his sons, Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Howard, afterwards lord high admiral, to find and encounter the terrible Scottish seaman. They had not long to seek, for in the Downs they were apprized of his neighbourhood by the captain of a merchant vessel which he had plundered on the day preceding. Barton had just returned from a cruise against the Portuguese, with two ships, one the *Lion*, which himself commanded, and the other a small armed pinnace. When the Howards approached, they hoisted no war signal, but merely put up a willow wand on their masts, as if they were peaceful traders; but when Andrew Barton approached, they hoisted their national flag, and fired a broad-side into his vessel. On finding that he had enemies to deal with, although they were of superior force, he fearlessly advanced to the encounter. Distinguished

by his rich dress, his splendid armour of proof, and the gold chain around his neck, to which was attached a whistle of the same metal, the emblem of his office as high admiral of Scotland, he took his stand upon the highest part of the deck, and encouraged his men to fight bravely. The battle commenced, and continued on both sides with the utmost desperation. One manœuvre of Scottish naval warfare which Barton used, was derived from an old Roman practice used against the Carthaginians, although he had, perhaps, never read their history; this was, to drop large weights or beams from the yard-arms of his vessel into that of the enemy, and thus sink it while the two ships were locked together; but, to accomplish this feat, it was necessary for a man to go aloft to let the weight fall. The English commander, apprised of this, had appointed the best archer of his crew to keep watch upon the movement, and shoot every man who attempted to go aloft for the purpose. The archer had already brought down two Scottish seamen who had successively ventured to ascend, when Andrew Barton seeing the danger, resolved to make the attempt himself. As he ascended the mast for this purpose, Lord Howard cried to his archer, "Shoot, villain, and shoot true, on peril of thy life." "An' I were to die for it," replied the man despondingly, "I have but two arrows left." These, however, he used with his utmost strength and skill. The first shaft bounded from Barton's coat of proof, but the second entered the crevice of his armour, as he stretched up his hand in the act of climbing the mast, and inflicted a mortal wound through the arm-pit. He descended as if unhurt, and exclaimed, "Fight on, my merry men; I am but slightly wounded, and will rest me awhile, but will soon join you again; in the meantime, stand you fast by the cross of Saint Andrew!" He then blew his whistle during the combat, to encourage his followers, and continued to sound it as long as life remained. After his death the conflict terminated in the capture of the *Lion*, and also the *pinnae*, called the *Jenny Pirwen*, which were brought in triumph into the *Thames*. The *Lion* was afterwards adopted into the English navy, and was the second largest ship in the service, the *Great Henry*, the first vessel which the English had expressly constructed for war, being the largest.

Such was the end of Andrew Barton, a bright name in the early naval history of Scotland. While his death was felt as a great national calamity, it was particularly affecting to James IV., whose nautical studies he had directed, and whose infant navy he had made so distinguished among the European maritime powers. *Rothsay* herald was instantly despatched to London, to complain of this breach of peace, and demand redress; but to this appeal Henry VIII. arrogantly replied, that Barton was a pirate, and that the fate of pirates ought never to be a subject of contention between princes. Here, however, the matter was not to rest. Robert Barton, one of Andrew's brothers, was immediately furnished with letters of reprisal against the English; and thus commissioned, he swept the narrow seas so effectually, that he soon returned to Leith with thirteen English prizes. War by sea between England and Scotland was soon followed by war by land, and in the letter of remonstrance and defiance to Henry VIII., with which James preceded the invasion of England, the unjust slaughter of Andrew Barton, and the capture of his ships, were stated among the principal grievances for which redress was thus sought. Even when battle was at hand, also, Lord Thomas Howard sent a message to the Scottish king, boasting of his share in the death of Barton, whom he persisted in calling a pirate, and adding, that he was ready to justify the deed in the vanguard, where his command

lay, and where he meant to show as little mercy as he expected to receive. And then succeeded the battle of Flodden, in which James and the best of the Scottish nobility fell; and after Flodden, a loss occurred which Barton would rather have died than witnessed. This was the utter extinction of the Scottish fleet, which was allowed to lie rotting in the harbours of France, or to be trucked away in inglorious sale, like common firewood. From that period, Scotland so completely ceased to be a naval power, that even at the time of the Union, she not only had no war vessels whatever, but scarcely any merchant ships—the few that lay in her ports being chiefly the property of the traders of Holland;—and full three centuries have to elapse before we find another distinguished Scottish seaman in the naval history of Great Britain.

BELL, SIR CHARLES, was born at Edinburgh in 1774. His father was a minister of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and held a small living at Doune, in the county of Perth. As the minister died while still young, his family, consisting of four sons, were thrown upon the maternal care; but this, instead of being a disadvantage, seems to have produced a contrary effect, by the early development of their talents, so that they all attained distinguished positions in society, the first as a writer to the signet, the second as an eminent surgeon, and the third as professor of Scots Law in the University of Edinburgh. Charles, the youngest, was less favourably situated than his brothers for a complete education, but his own observation and natural aptitude supplied the deficiency. "My education," he tells us, "was the example of my brothers." The care of his mother did the rest, so that her youngest and best-beloved child at last outstripped his more favoured seniors, and his grateful remembrance of her lessons and training continued to the end of his life. The history of such a family justifies the saying which the writer of this notice has often heard repeated by a learned professor of the University of Glasgow: "When I see," he said, "a very talented youth who makes his way in the world, I do not ask, Who was his father, but, Who was his mother?" On being removed to the High School of Edinburgh—where, by the way, he made no distinguished figure—Charles was chiefly under the charge of his brother, John, subsequently the eminent surgeon, and it was from him that he derived that impulse which determined his future career. He studied anatomy, and such was his rapid proficiency, that even before he had reached the age of manhood, he was able to deliver lectures on that science, as assistant of his brother, John, to a class of more than a hundred pupils. In 1790, even before he was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, he published the first part of his "System of Dissections." Longing, however, for a wider field of action, and disgusted with the medical controversies which were carried on in Edinburgh, he removed to London in 1804, and threw himself into the arena of the British metropolis. It was a bold step; for at this time, owing to political causes, a Scotsman of education was regarded with suspicion and dislike in this favourite field of Scottish adventure, and Charles Bell, like the rest of his countrymen, was looked upon as an interloper come to supplant the true children of the English soil. But he bravely held onward in his course, and won for himself the esteem of influential friends, the chief of whom were Sir Astley Cooper and Dr. Abernethy, and he soon extended the circle by his treatise on the "Anatomy of Expression," which was published in London in 1806. It was a work so admirably suited for painters, in their delineations of human feeling and passion, that the most distinguished artists of the day

adopted it for their text-book, and were loud in their encomiums of its merits. Still, however, this was but the foundation-stone of his future distinction. Bell had determined to be "chief of his profession in character," and to attain this daring height much had to be surmounted. He commenced as a public lecturer, but upon a humble and disadvantageous scale, as he was still an alien in London; and his early discoveries upon the nervous system, which he was patiently maturing, as his future highest claims to distinction, were as yet but little esteemed by the public, and would be compelled to force their way slowly into notice, if they should ever chance to be noticed. In 1807, the same year in which he commenced his course of lectures, he published his "System of Operative Surgery," a work where all the operations described in it were the result not of mere theory or reading, but of personal experience.

It was amidst this disheartening amount of unthanked, unappreciated toil and disappointment that Charles Bell sought a comforter of his cares; and in 1811 he married Miss Shaw, who not only justified his choice, but made him brother-in-law to two men whose pursuits were congenial to his own. These were John and Alexander Shaw, whom his lessons and example raised into distinguished anatomists and physiologists, while the latter ultimately became the most effective champion of his preceptor's claims to originality in his physiological and anatomical discoveries. Bell's darkened horizon now began to clear, and his worth to be properly estimated. In 1811, the happy year of his marriage, after he had long remained unconnected with any medical school or association, he was allied to the Hunterian School in Windmill Street, as joint lecturer with Mr. Wilson. The extent of his knowledge and power of illustrating it, exhibited in his prelections, and the happy facility of demonstration and expression which he had always at command, soon made his lectures popular, so that in 1814 he was appointed surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital; and here his remarkable skill as an operator, combined with his style of lecturing, which, although not eloquent, was full of thought very strikingly expressed, made him a favourite both with patients and pupils. The result of his labours there, which continued till 1836, enabled him to make the honest boast at his departure, that he had left the institution, which at his entrance was but of small account, "with full wards, and £120,000 in the funds."

As the whole of the preceding period, up to the date of Napoleon's banishment to St. Helena, had been a season of war, the professional talents of Bell had been in request in our military hospitals, and upon the Continent, as well as in London, so that in 1809, immediately after the battle of Corunna, he quitted the metropolis, to attend upon the wounded of the British army. Here his opportunities of acquiring fresh knowledge were eagerly embraced, and the result of his experience was an essay on gun-shot wounds, which appeared as an appendix to his "System of Operative Surgery," published in 1807. After the battle of Waterloo, he also repaired to Brussels, and took the charge of an hospital; and here he was engaged for three successive days and nights in operating upon and dressing the wounds of three hundred soldiers. Of these cases he made various drawings in water-colouring, which are reckoned among the best specimens of such productions in our anatomical school. The following extracts of a letter which he wrote from Brussels to his brother, the distinguished barrister in Edinburgh, will give a clear idea of the occupations of Charles Bell in this labour, which he so kindly and gratuitously undertook, as well as of the men who were now his patients:—"I have just returned from seeing the French

wounded received in their hospital; and could you see them laid out naked, or almost so—one hundred in a row of low beds on the ground—though wounded, exhausted, beaten, you would still conclude with me that they were men capable of marching unopposed from the west of Europe to the east of Asia: strong, thick-set, hardy veterans, brave spirits and unsubdued, as they cast their wild glance upon you—their black eyes and brown cheeks finely contrasted with the fresh sheets—you would much admire their capacity of adaptation. These fellows are brought from the field after lying many days on the ground; many dying—many in the agony—many miserably racked with pain and spasms; and the next mimics his fellow, and gives it a tune—*Aha, vous chantez bien!* How they are wounded you will see in my notes. But I must not have you to lose the present impression on me of the formidable nature of these fellows as exemplars of the breed in France. It is a forced praise; for from all I have seen, and all I have heard of their fierceness, cruelty, and blood-thirstiness, I cannot convey to you my detestation of this race of trained banditti." The following picture which the letter contains of their enemies by whom they were opposed, is equally striking:—"This superb city is now ornamented with the finest groups of armed men that the most romantic fancy could dream of. I was struck with the words of a friend, E—: 'I saw,' said he, '*that* man returning from the field on the 16th—(this was a Brunswicker, of the Black or Death Hussars):—he was wounded, and had his arm amputated on the field. He was among the first that came in. He rode straight and stark upon his horse—the bloody clouts about his stump—pale as death but upright, with a stern, fixed expression of feature, as if loth to lose his revenge.' These troops are very remarkable in their fine military appearance; their dark and ominous dress sets off to advantage their strong, manly northern features and white mustachios; and there is something more than commonly impressive about the whole effect." After this account, the writer returns to his professional occupations. "This," he adds, "is the second Sunday after the battle, and many are not yet dressed. There are 20,000 wounded in this town, besides those in the hospitals, and the many in the other towns—only 3000 prisoners; 80,000, they say, killed and wounded on both sides."

The time at length arrived when Bell was to acquire that full amount of reputation for which he had toiled so long and laboriously, and amidst such unmerited neglect. From an early period his favourite subject of investigation was the nervous system, upon which the most erroneous opinions had hitherto prevailed. Even professional men of high medical and anatomical knowledge rested satisfied in the belief, that all the nerves were alike, and that the superior amount of susceptibility in any organ merely depended upon the greater number of nerves allotted to it. But even before he left Edinburgh, a suspicion had grown upon the mind of Bell, that this prevalent opinion was erroneous, and farther inquiry satisfied him that himself alone was in the right. He found that the nerves were distributed into different classes, to each of which belonged its proper function; and that the same puncture, which, applied to any other of these conductors to the senses, would produce a sensation of pain, when applied to the eye would give only the impression of a flash of light. He saw, also, that the two roots by which the spinal nerves are connected with the vertebral medulla, impart two different powers, the one that of motion, the other that of sensation. In this way he accounted for those cases in which the motive or sensitive powers are singly or severally lost. This discovery, which was as

wonderful as that of the circulation of the blood, astonished the whole medical world: it was a revelation that had remained unknown till now, and when announced, could not be controverted; and under this new guidance, practical anatomists were directed to the proper seat of the ailments that came under their notice, as well as taught the right mode of cure. His theory, which was published in 1821, in the "Philosophical Transactions," in the form of an essay on the "Nervous System," produced immediate attention, and when its value was appreciated, attempts were made to deny him the merit of the discovery. Fortunately, however, for his claims, he had printed a pamphlet for distribution among his friends, as early as 1811, in which the principal points of his theory were already announced; while his letters, written to his brother upon the subject, were sufficient to put to flight the numerous pretenders who claimed the discovery as their own. His subsequent publications on the "Nervous Circle," and "On the Eye," completely established the existence of a sixth sense, by which we are enabled to ascertain and estimate the qualities of size, weight, form, distance, texture, and resistance.

Bell had now reached the summit of his ambition, and established for himself a European reputation. His suggestions and improvements were adopted in every country where the healing art was studied as a science, while the leading men of the Continent united in testifying to the value of his labours. In 1824 he was appointed to the Senior Chair of Anatomy and Surgery in the London College of Surgeons, while his treatises on "Animal Mechanics," and "On the Hand," and his "Illustrations of Paley's Natural Theology," secured that professional distinction which seemed capable of no farther extension. On the accession of William IV. to the throne, it was resolved to commemorate this event, by conferring the honour of knighthood upon a few of the most eminent scientific men of the period, and in this chosen number Bell was included, with his countrymen Brewster, Leslie, and Ivory. An opportunity now occurred for Sir Charles Bell to return to Scotland after an absence of thirty-two years, by an offer in 1836 of the professorship of Surgery in the university of Edinburgh, which he accepted. It was his prevailing desire, notwithstanding his wide and lucrative practice in London, to have leisure for prosecuting his scientific researches, and to prosecute them among the friends of his youth, and in the place where they had commenced. But unfortunately he found Edinburgh too limited a field for his purposes, and especially for a new and great work upon the "Nervous System," which he wished to publish, with numerous splendid illustrations. Instead of this, he was obliged to content himself with a new edition of the "Anatomy of Expression," which he greatly extended and improved, in the course of a tour through Italy, during the interval of a college session. He also published his "Institutes of Surgery," containing the substance of his lectures delivered in the university. In 1842, during the vacation of summer, Sir Charles left Edinburgh on a journey to London; but, on reaching Hallow Park on the 27th of May, he died suddenly the same night. The cause of his death was *angina pectoris*, brought on, as was supposed by his friends, from disappointment, chiefly arising from the new Medical Reform Bill, which he believed was hostile to the best interests of the profession. His intellectual originality, acuteness of perception, and steady perseverance, by which he attained such distinguished reputation and success, were connected with an amenity and gentleness of disposition that endeared him to the circle of his friends, and the society in which he moved. An excellent portrait and striking likeness of Sir

Charles Bell was painted by B. Mantyne, of which an engraving by Thomson will be found in the third volume of Pettigrew's "Medical Portrait Gallery."

BELL, JAMES.—This indefatigable geographer was born in 1789, in Jedburgh. His father, the Rev. Thomas Bell, minister of a Relief congregation in that town, and afterwards of Dovehill chapel, in Glasgow, was a man of great worth and considerable learning, and the author of a "Treatise on the Covenants," and several other pieces of a theological kind. In his childhood and youth the subject of our memoir suffered much sickness, and gave little promise either of bodily or mental vigour; but, as he grew up, his constitution improved, and he began to evince that irresistible propensity to reading, or rather devouring all books that came in his way, which ever afterwards marked his character. It was fortunate for him that he was not bereft of his natural guardian until he was considerably advanced in life, for he was quite unfit to push his own way in the world, the uncommon simplicity of his character rendering him the easy dupe of the designing and knavish. He indeed entered into business for a short time as a manufacturer with his characteristic ardour, but finding himself unsuccessful, he betook himself to another and more laborious mode of making a livelihood, but one for which he was far better qualified, namely, the private teaching of Greek and Latin to advanced students. But as his father, with parental prudence, had settled a small annuity upon him, he was enabled to devote a considerable portion of his time to those studies and researches to which his natural inclination early led him, and which he only ceased to prosecute with his life. Mr. Bell used to advert with feelings of peculiar satisfaction to the meetings of a little weekly society which, during this period of his history, were held at his house and under his auspices, and at which the members read essays and debated questions for their mutual entertainment and improvement. On all these occasions, Mr. Bell never failed to contribute his full share to the evening's proceedings, and, when fairly excited, would astonish and delight his associates, particularly the younger part of them, with the extent and variety of his learning, and the astonishing volubility with which he poured forth the treasures of his capacious and well-furnished mind on almost every possible topic of speculation or debate.

Mr. Bell's first appearance as an author was made about the year 1815, when he contributed several valuable chapters to the "Glasgow Geography"—a work which had an extensive circulation, published in five volumes 8vo, by the house of Khull, Blackie, & Co., and which became the foundation of Mr. Bell's "System of Popular and Scientific Geography." In 1824 he published—in conjunction with a young Glasgow linguist of great promise, named John Bell, who died January 1, 1826, but no relative of the subject of this memoir—a thin 8vo volume, entitled, "Critical Researches in Philology and Geography." The philologist contributed two articles to the volume, the one a "Review of Jones's Persian Grammar," and the other a "Review of an Arabic Vocabulary and Index to Richardson's Arabic Grammar, by James Noble, Teacher of Languages, in Edinburgh," both of which are characterized by a minute acquaintance with the subjects under discussion. The geographer's contribution consisted of a very elaborate "Examination of the Various Opinions that in Modern Times have been held respecting the Sources of the Ganges, and the Correctness of the Lamas' Map of Thibet," which elicited high encomiums from some of the leading periodicals of the day.

Geography was the science around which as a nucleus all his sympathies

gathered, as if by an involuntary and irresistible tendency. To it he consecrated the labour of his life; it was the favourite study of his earlier years, and his old age continued to be cheered by it. In every thing belonging to this science there was a marvellous quickness and accuracy of perception—an extreme justness of observation and inference about him. When the conversation turned upon any geographical subject, his ideas assumed a kind of poetical inspiration, and flowed on in such unbroken and close succession, as to leave no opportunity to his auditors of interposing a question or pursuing a discussion. Once engaged, there was no recalling him from his wild excursive range—on he went, revelling in the intensity of his own enjoyment, and bearing his hearers along with him over chains of mountains and lines of rivers, until they became utterly bewildered by the rapidity with which the physical features of every region of the globe were made to pass in panoramic succession before them.

From his childhood Mr. Bell had been subject to severe attacks of asthma. These gradually assumed a more alarming character, and ultimately compelled him to leave Glasgow for a residence in the country. The place which he selected for his retirement was a humble cottage in the neighbourhood of the village of Campsie, about twelve miles north of Glasgow. Here he spent the last ten or twelve years of his life in much domestic comfort and tranquillity.

He was abstemious in his general habits; and his only earthly regret—at least the only one which he deemed of sufficient consequence to make matter of conversation—was the smallness of his library, and his want of access to books. Yet it is astonishing how little in the republic either of letters or of science he allowed to escape him. His memory was so retentive, that nothing which he had once read was ever forgotten by him. This extraordinary faculty enabled him to execute his literary commissions with a much more limited apparatus of books, than to others less gifted would have been an indispensable requisite.

The closing scene of Mr. Bell's life was calm and peaceful. He had, as already mentioned, long suffered violently from asthma. This painful disease gradually gained upon his constitution, and became more severe in its periodical attacks, and the exhausted powers of nature finally sunk in the struggle. He expired on the 3d of May, 1833, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried, at his own express desire, in the old churchyard of Campsie—a beautiful and sequestered spot.

In forming an estimate of Mr. Bell's literary character, we must always keep in view the difficulties with which he had to struggle in his unwearied pursuit of knowledge. He was without fortune, without powerful friends, and destitute, to a great extent, of even the common apparatus of a scholar. He laboured also under defects of physical organization which would have chilled and utterly repressed any mind less ardent and enthusiastic than his own in the pursuit of knowledge: yet he surmounted every obstacle, and gained for himself a distinguished place among British geographers, in despite both of his hard fortune and infirm health. Many men have made a more brilliant display with inferior talents and fewer accomplishments; but none ever possessed a more complete mastery over their favourite science, and could bring to any related task a greater amount of accurate and varied knowledge. That he was an accomplished classical scholar is apparent from the immense mass of erudite allusions which his writings present; but he was not an exact scholar. He knew little of the niceties of language; his compositions are often inelegant and incorrect; he had no idea

of elaborating the expression of his thoughts, but wrote altogether without attention to effect, and as if there were no such things as order in thinking and method in composition. It would be doing him injustice, however, while on this point, not to allow that his later writings exhibit a closer connection of ideas, and greater succinctness of mental habits than his earlier productions.

Besides the earlier publications already adverted to, Mr. Bell edited an edition of "Rollin's Ancient History," including the volume on the "Arts and Sciences of the Ancients." This work, published in Glasgow, in three closely printed octavo volumes, bears ample evidence to the industry, research, and sagacity of the editor. The notes are of great extent, and many of them on the geography of the ancients, on the bearing of history, on prophecy, more particularly the prophecies of Daniel, or such as those on the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, the march of Hannibal across the Alps, and the ruins of Babylon, amount to discussions of considerable length.

His other great work was his "System of Geography," of which it is sufficient to say, that it has been pronounced decidedly superior as a popular work to that of Malte Brun, and on this account was subsequently republished in America. In this country it obtained a very extensive circulation. The preparation of these works, and of materials left incomplete for a "General Gazetteer," occupied a great many years of Mr. Bell's life. He also took a lively interest in the success of several scientific periodicals, and aided their progress by numerous valuable contributions from his own pen. In all his writings, from the causes already assigned, there is too little effort at analysis and compression. Much might with advantage have been abridged, and much pared off. In his "System of Geography" he occasionally borrowed the correcting pen of a friend, hence its composition is more regulated and chastened.

Mr. Bell's moral character was unimpeachable. He was remarkable for plain, undissembling honesty, and the strictest regard to truth. In all that constituted practical independence of character, he was well furnished; he could neither brook dependence nor stoop to complaint. He was in the strictest sense of the word a pious man. He was a humble and sincere Christian, and his impressions of a religious nature appear to have been acquired in early life. He had a deep sense of the corruption of human nature, and saw the necessity of man's justification by faith alone. He concurred with his whole heart in that interpretation of the doctrines of the Bible commonly called the Calvinistic; but in no sense of the word was he sectarian in spirit; he had no bigotry or intolerance of opinion on religious points, although few could wield the massive weapons of theological controversy with greater vigour and effect.

BIRNIE, SIR RICHARD.—This distinguished metropolitan police magistrate, to whom London was so much indebted in that great blessing of civilization, the "sweet security of streets," was born at Banff, in the year 1760, and was the son of respectable parents. As they occupied a humble rank in society, their son, Richard, was destined to be a tradesman, and was placed apprentice to a saddler. After having served out the usual time, he repaired to London in quest of more profitable occupation than his own country could at that time supply, and soon obtained a situation as journeyman in the establishment of Macintosh & Co., saddlers and harness-makers in the Haymarket, where he was quickly noted by his employers as an active, industrious, and intelligent workman. This, however, promised little more than a rise of wages, with a shop of his own as the *ultimatum* of the perspective, when one of those accidents

occurred which secured his way to higher advancement, under the patronage of royalty itself. The Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) having on some urgent occasion required saddlery to a considerable amount, sent an order to Macintosh & Co., who were saddlers to the Royal Family, requiring some one from their warehouse to come and receive the necessary instructions. The firm was thrown into a sore dilemma by this sudden command, as not only the senior partner but the foreman were laid up with sickness. The most intelligent of their workmen must be selected as a substitute, and in this case Richard Birnie was their mark. He went, and received the behests of his Royal Highness; and his behaviour on this occasion, as well as the correctness with which the order was executed, so satisfied the heir to the throne, that in his future commissions of the same kind, he always added his desire, that the "young Scotchman" should be sent to receive them.

This distinction was the road to fortune, and Richard Birnie was not of a disposition to neglect it. Of these two facts, indeed, his employers were sufficiently aware, so that from a mere workman he became foreman, and afterwards, a partner in the establishment. During this rise, he also bettered his condition by matrimony, his wife, the daughter of a rich baker in Oxendon Street, having brought to him a considerable portion in money, besides a cottage, and some valuable land in Acton, Middlesex. After this event, he settled himself as a householder in St. Martin's parish, which entailed upon him a portion of the civic duties of that district; and his intelligence and activity at vestry and other meetings were such, that in every work of difficulty he was certain to be selected either as agent or referee. In this way, the offices with which he came in contact were so various, that he often triumphantly stated he had filled them all successively, except those of beadle and watchman. Besides these peaceful commissions, he was ready to undertake those of a more martial and dangerous character; so that during the stormy period which closed the Pitt administration, he enrolled himself as a private in the Royal Westminster Volunteers, where he soon after held the rank of captain. Nor was he an idle or mere titular holder of office during these various gradations; on the contrary, he seems to have brought to them all the same active, pains-taking, benevolent spirit by which his more public life was afterwards distinguished. This was especially the case when he served as church-warden of the parish, to which he was appointed in 1805. In this situation he united cordially with the vicar, Dr. Anthony Hamilton, and with his brother churchwarden, Mr. Elam, a silversmith in the Strand, in alleviating the poverty of the parish, and gave effectual aid in the establishment of St. Martin's Chapel, Pratt Street, Camden Town, and a number of comfortable well-provided alms-houses for the decayed parishioners of St. Martin's. As two resident magistrates are necessary for that district, Mr. Birnie was placed in the commission of the peace at the request of the Duke of Northumberland.

Being thus at a sedentary period of life surrounded with all the substantial means of comfort, and invested with an office that brought him title and worship, the London magistrate might have retired with credit from the scramble of competition, and left the field open to younger men. But as yet his public career had only commenced, and he was as ready as ever for action. Being now a magistrate, he was anxious to qualify himself for the duties into which he had entered, and for this purpose became a frequent attender at the Bow Street Office, where he could study offences of every degree and statutes for every offence—the repression of the former, and the wise, just, discriminating application of

the latter. Here, too, at length he was wont to give effectual aid, being frequently invited to the bench in the absence of any one of the regular magistrates. The experience he thus acquired, and the tact he displayed, suggested a more permanent application of his services; and, accordingly, after some time, he was appointed police magistrate at Union Hall, and finally at the more important office of Bow Street. This, for a considerable time, had been the chief mark of his ambition, although at the period it promised neither ease nor safety. One dangerous service on which he was called to act in February, 1820, was in the apprehension of the desperate gang of Cato Street conspirators—men who were not likely to be secured without a sanguinary resistance. On this occasion, Mr. Birnie was placed in command of the Bow Street constables, who were supported by a detachment of the Coldstream Guards; he entered the stable and hay-loft where the conspirators were in close conclave, and had his full share of the danger that followed when the lights were extinguished, and the struggle commenced. Soon after, the chief magistrate of Bow Street, Sir Nathaniel Conant, having died, Mr. Birnie justly thought that his services on the late Cato Street occasion gave him a fair claim to the vacancy; but instead of this reasonable expectation being justified, the appointment was bestowed upon Sir Robert Baker of Marlborough Street. This rejection so affected Mr. Birnie, that, with tears starting from his eyes when he heard of it, he exclaimed to the magistrate who sat beside him on the bench, "This is the reward a man gets for risking his life in the service of his country."

Whatever was wrong in this affair was soon afterwards righted, and Mr. Birnie was appointed to the coveted office in consequence of one of those political emergencies with which the season was so rife. In August, 1821, the death of Queen Caroline occurred, and the populace of London, who believed that she had died an injured broken-hearted woman, were as maddened at the sight of her remains on their way to interment as was the Roman mob at the unmantled body of the murdered Cæsar; while, to heighten the confusion, the king himself, who should have been at hand to issue orders in such a crisis, was absent in Ireland. In such a case, where personal responsibility was sure to involve a great amount of risk as well as odium, the chief officials were afraid to act, and Sir Robert Baker, on being commanded to read the Riot Act, trembled and refused. But Birnie had no such timidity; he saw that a crisis had arrived at which the whole mob of London might have broke loose like a destroying tempest, and therefore he stepped forward and performed the obnoxious duty, by which bold act the rioters were daunted, and dispersed. The indecision of Sir Robert Baker on this occasion, from which such perilous consequences might have occurred, was so offensive to the ministry, that he found it necessary to resign, and Mr. Birnie was promoted in his room. On the 17th of September (the month after the funeral) he also received the honour of knighthood.

After this, the life of Sir Richard Birnie, as chief magistrate of Bow Street, went on in silent unostentatious activity to the close. In the important office which he occupied, he was distinguished as an upright, intelligent, and zealous justiciary, and his measures for the repression of crime and the preservation of order, were such as to endear him to the friends of peace and good government to the end of his career. To the last he also retained the favour of his royal master, George IV., to whose kind attention and patronage his rise had been chiefly owing; as well as the confidence of the chief officers of state, who frequently consulted him in matters connected with the general welfare of the

metropolis. After such a course of usefulness, that was crowned with the success it had merited, he died on the 20th of April, 1832, in the seventy-second year of his age, leaving one son and two daughters.

BLANE, SIR GILBERT, M.D., of Blanefield, Ayrshire, and Culverlands, Berks, Bart.—This eminent physician was the fourth son of Gilbert Blane of Blanefield, in the county of Ayr, and was born at that place A.D. 1749. Being destined by his parents for the church, he was sent at an early age to the university of Edinburgh; but in consequence of certain religious scruples, he abandoned the purpose of studying for the ministry, and turned his thoughts to the medical profession, for which he soon found that he had a peculiar vocation. His remarkable diligence and proficiency in the different departments of medical science secured the notice not only of his classfellows, but the professors, so that on graduating as a physician, he was recommended by Dr. Cullen to Dr. William Hunter, at that time of high celebrity in London, both as physician and teacher of anatomy, who soon learned to estimate the talents and worth of his young *protégé*. He therefore introduced Dr. Blane to the notice of Lord Holderness, whose private physician he soon became, and he was afterwards appointed to the same office to Lord Rodney. This transition from the service of a peaceful statesman to that of an active naval hero, introduced the Doctor to a wider sphere of medical practice, but to one also of greater danger and trial. When Lord Rodney, in 1780, assumed the command of the West India station, Blane accompanied him, and was present in six naval engagements, in the very first of which he found himself compelled to forego his professional privilege of being a non-combatant. This was in consequence of every officer on deck being killed, wounded, or otherwise employed, so that none remained but himself who could be intrusted with the admiral's orders to the officers serving at the guns. This hazardous employment he cheerfully undertook and ably discharged, receiving a slight wound in its performance. His conduct on this occasion was so gratifying to his Lordship, that at his recommendation, he was at once raised to the important office of physician to the fleet, without undergoing the subordinate grades. On this station, where disease is so prevalent among our seamen, he was unremitting in his attention to the health of the ships' crews, and the success of his efforts was felt by the whole fleet. During this period, also, he found a short interval for gratifying those literary tastes which he had cultivated at college; and his account of the important naval engagement of the 12th of April, 1782, which he sent to Lord Stair, was so distinct and so animated, that it soon found its way into print. This victory, indeed, which Lord Rodney obtained over Count de Grasse off Guadeloupe, was of itself well worthy of admiration; for it not only saved Jamaica, ruined the allied fleet of our enemies in that quarter, and restored the supremacy of the British flag, but was the first great trial of the experiment of breaking the line which Nelson afterwards so successfully adopted. Soon after his return from the West India station, which he left in 1783, Dr. Blane published in London a work entitled, "*Observations on the Diseases of Seamen*," in one volume 8vo. It contained the results of his own careful experience, and the conclusions he had drawn from the medical returns of the surgeons of the fleet, and abounded with so much sound and practical wisdom upon that important subject, that it soon became a standard work, and was repeatedly reprinted with additional improvements. On his return, it was found that he was precluded from half-pay, on account of his appointment having been made

without his having passed the intermediate steps of service. But a still more honourable requital awaited his labours; for, in consequence of a joint application from all the officers on the West India station to the Admiralty, Dr. Blane was rewarded by a pension from the crown, which was afterwards doubled at the suggestion of the Lords of the Admiralty. Even this, too, was not the full amount of benefit which he owed to the esteem of his fellow-officers; for one of these, a midshipman of Rodney's fleet—but who was no less a person than the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV.—obtained for him the appointment of physician extraordinary to the Prince of Wales, in 1785; he was also, chiefly through the popular influence of Lord Rodney, elected physician to St. Thomas's Hospital. About the same time, also, he was appointed one of the commissioners of sick and wounded sailors. As he was now on shore, and in prosperous circumstances, he sought a permanent and comfortable home by marriage; and, on the 11th July, 1786, was united to Elizabeth, only daughter of Abraham Gardner, merchant. By this lady, who shared with him the honours and comforts of a long life, and whose death preceded his own by only two years, he was the father of six sons and three daughters. Having about the time of his marriage been elected a fellow of the Royal Society, he was appointed, in 1788, to deliver the Croonian lecture of that year, a duty which he performed with signal ability, having chosen "Muscular Motion" for his subject, and illustrated it with great extent of information, as well as much profound and original thinking. The essay was published in 1791, and afterwards republished in his "Select Dissertations," in 1822 and 1834. In 1790, an essay of his on the "Nardus or Spikenard of the Ancients," was also published in the 80th volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Society."

More important, however, than all these appointments that were successively conferred upon Dr. Blane, was that of being placed at the head of the Navy Medical Board, which occurred in 1795. It was here that he had full scope and exercise for his talents, philanthropy, and nautical experience as a physician. In proportion as the empire of Britain was extended, the number and length of voyages were increased, so that the draught upon our island population for the royal and merchant service was every year becoming greater. But a still more serious danger than any that arose from storm or battle, and more wasteful in its silent effects, was that which originated in scurvy, the ocean-pestilence, from which there had hitherto been no protection, except at the expense of a long delay by recruiting on a friendly shore. The causes of this disease were the cold and unhealthy atmosphere on ship-board, owing to defective ship-building, the sand used for ballast, the unwholesome miasma of the bilge-water, and the imperfect means of washing and ventilating the vessel. But these were trivial compared with the diet of our sailors, which, on long voyages, consisted merely of salted meat and biscuit. The defective nourishment and excessive stimulus of this kind of food made the scurvy still prevalent in our fleets, notwithstanding the improvements by which the other causes were counteracted; and the point and limit seemed to have been already attained, beyond which the British flag could be carried no farther. "The cure seems impossible by any remedy, or by any management that can be employed," says the historian of Anson's voyage despairingly, when he describes the condition of the commodore's crew on his arrival at Juan Fernandez, where, after a loss of four-fifths of his sailors, he had, out of the two hundred survivors, only eight who were capable of duty. It was to root out, or at least to diminish this disease, and bring

it under proper management, that Dr. Blane now addressed himself; and in this humane and patriotic purpose he was ably seconded by Earl Spencer, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty. The Doctor well knew that the only antiscorbutics available for the prevention or cure of sea-scurvy are those vegetables in which acid predominates; and that of all fruits, the genus *citrus* is most effective. Here, then, was the remedy; and since the fruit could not be carried fresh during a long voyage, the preserved juice might be used as a substitute. Such was the cure he suggested, and through the influence of Earl Spencer, it was immediately introduced throughout the whole British navy. Several gallons of lemon juice, having a tenth part of spirit of wine, to preserve it, was supplied to each ship; and, in a fortnight after leaving the port, the use of it began, each sailor being allowed one ounce of it, with an ounce and a half of sugar, to mix with his grog or wine. The immense advantages of an innovation apparently so very simple—and therefore so very difficult to be discovered—were quickly apparent. In the statistics of our navy we find, that during nine years of consecutive warfare from 1778 to 1795, the number of men voted for the service by parliament was 745,000, of whom 189,730 were sent sick on shore, or to the hospitals. But during the nine following years of consecutive warfare, that is to say, from 1796, when the use of lime juice was introduced into the navy, till 1806, during which period 1,053,076 men were voted for sea-service, of these, the sick amounted to no more than 123,949. The amount of disease had thus diminished by one-half, because scurvy had almost wholly disappeared; and our fleets, instead of being utterly drained of their seamen, as would have been the case under the former ratio, were enabled for twenty years to go onward in a career of victory unchecked, and repair their losses as fast as they occurred. And the merchant service, too, from which these victories derive their value, has been equally benefited by the remedy of Dr. Blane, so that its vessels may traverse every sea in safety, and return after the longest voyages with a healthy and happy crew; while a spectacle such as had been seen more than once—like that of the *Oriflamme*, for instance, where the whole crew had died, and the deck was piled with the corpses, while not a hand was left to guide her course as she slowly drifted before the wind—would be reckoned as impossible as a realization of the tale of the “Ancient Mariner.”

The famine which prevailed over the whole of Britain during the years 1790 and 1800, was too severe to be easily forgotten by the present generation; and, with the view of directing attention to its alleviation, as well as preventing its recurrence, Dr. Blane published in 1800 an “Inquiry into the Causes and Remedies of the Late and Present Scarcity and High Price of Provisions; with Observations on the Distresses of Agriculture and Commerce which have prevailed for the last three years.” As he had now attained a high medical reputation, and enjoyed an extensive private practice in addition to his public duties, he resigned the office of physician to St. Thomas’s Hospital, after having held it twenty years. The fruits of his observations during that period he gave to the world in a dissertation “On the Comparative Prevalence and Mortality of Different Diseases in London,” which was first published in the “Transactions of the Medico-Chirurgical Society,” and afterwards embodied in his “Select Dissertations.” The unhappy Walcheren expedition was one of the last public services on which Blane was employed. That island of fogs, swamps, and pestilential vapours had loomed so alluringly in the eyes of our statesmen, that nothing short of its possession would satisfy them, and one of the largest arma-

ments that had ever left a British port, conveying 40,000 soldiers, was sent to achieve its conquest. It was soon won and occupied; but our troops found, on entering into possession, that a deadlier enemy than any that France could furnish was arrayed against them to dispute their footing; so that, independently of the fearful amount of mortality, ten thousand brave soldiers were soon upon the sick list. As for the disease, too, which produced such havoc, although it was sometimes called fever, and sometimes ague, neither its nature, causes, nor cure, could be satisfactorily ascertained. All this, however, was necessary to be detected, if our hold was to be continued upon Walcheren; and the chief medical officers of the army were ordered to repair in person to the island, and there hold an inquest upon the malady, with a view to its removal. But no medical Curtius could be found to venture into such a gulf: the surgeon-general of the army declared that the case was not surgical, and ought therefore to be superintended by the physician-general; while the latter as stoutly argued, that the duty indisputably belonged not to him, but to the inspector-general of army hospitals. In this way, an office reckoned tantamount to a death-warrant, from the danger of infection which it involved, was bandied to and fro, while the unfortunate patients were daily sickening and dying by the hundred. One man, however, fully competent for the task, and whose services on such an occasion were completely gratuitous, departed upon the perilous mission. This was Dr. Blane, who, as belonging to a different department, had no such obligations as his army brethren, but who, nevertheless, undertook the obnoxious duty in 1809, while the disease was most prevalent. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add, that the British soon after abandoned their possession of Walcheren.

Another public service on which Dr. Blane was employed in the following year (1810), was to visit Northfleet, and report on the expediency of establishing a dock-yard and naval arsenal there. This terminated his public official labours, which were so highly valued, that in 1812 he was raised to the rank of baronet, and appointed in the same year physician in ordinary to the Prince Regent. In 1819, he reappeared as an author, by the publication of "Elements of Medical Logic," the most useful of his writings, and one so highly prized, that, in the course of a few years, it went through several editions. In 1821, having now for two years been past the "three score and ten" that constitute the common boundary of human life, he suffered under the effects of old age in the form of *prurigo senilis*, for which he was obliged to take such copious doses of opium, that he became a confirmed opium eater; but this habit, so fatal in most instances, seems in him to have been counteracted by the disease which it alleviated, for he continued to the last in full possession and use of his intellectual faculties. In 1822, he published "Select Dissertations on Several Subjects of Medical Science," most of which had previously appeared in the form of separate papers in the most important of our medical periodicals. In 1826, he was elected a member of the Institute of France. Although a long period of peace had now occurred, his zeal for the welfare of the navy still continued. This he had first manifested on his being placed at the head of the Navy Medical Board, when he caused regular returns or journals of the state of health and disease to be kept by every surgeon in the service, and forwarded to the Navy Board, from which returns he drew up those dissertations that were read before the Medico-Chirurgical Society, and published in its "Transactions." But anxious still more effectually to promote emulation and reward

merit in the medical department of the British naval service, he founded in 1829, with the sanction of the Lords of the Admiralty, a prize medal for the best journal kept by the surgeons of his Majesty's navy. This medal is awarded every second year, the commissioners selecting four of the best journals for competition. On the accession of William IV. to the throne in 1830, the sovereign was not forgetful of his old shipmate, and Sir Gilbert was appointed first physician to the king. Fully rewarded with wealth and honours, and laden with years, Sir Gilbert Blane could now retire gracefully from the scene of public life, and leave his place to be filled by younger men; and this he did in a manner that was consistent with his previous career. The whole island was filled with consternation at the coming of the cholera, and the havoc which it wrought wherever it appeared, upon which he published a pamphlet in 1831, entitled, "Warning to the British Public against the Alarming Approach of the Indian Cholera." After this he retreated, at the age of eighty-two, into peaceful retirement, where he solaced his leisure hours in revising and preparing for publication the second edition of his "Select Dissertations," which issued from the press before he died. His death occurred on the 26th of June, 1834, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

BURNES, SIR ALEXANDER.—This distinguished officer, whose varied talents were so available to the administration of the British government in India, and whose premature and violent death was so deeply deplored, was born in the town of Montrose, on the 16th of May, 1805. His father, a magistrate of Forfarshire, was highly esteemed in that county, and had held the chief official situations of the borough of Montrose, while his grandfather was brother to William Burnes, the parent of our illustrious national poet. It is well known to the readers of the life of Robert Burns, that the family name had always been spelled Burnes, and that his father was the first who dropped the letter *e* in its signature. Alexander was educated at Montrose Academy, and there his proficiency gave full promise of his future excellence. Having obtained a cadetship when he left school at the age of sixteen, he set sail for India, and arrived at Bombay on October 31, 1821. So earnest and successful had been his studies for his new sphere of active duty, that at the close of the year after that of his arrival in India, Alexander Burnes was appointed interpreter in Hindostanee to the first extra battalion at Surat. His proficiency in the Persian tongue had also been so rapid as to secure the confidence of the judges of the *Sudder Adaw'ut*, so that he was appointed translator of the Persian documents of that court, without any solicitation of his own. His talents for civil occupation were soon so conspicuous as to secure him rapid promotion in that Indo-British government, whose very existence depends upon the superiority of intellect alone, and where the encouragement of merit, independently of birth or fortune, is a matter of absolute necessity. Accordingly, Alexander Burnes, after having filled the offices of ensign and quarter-master of brigade, was confirmed in the office of deputy-assistant quarter-master general at the age of twenty-one, at which period, also, he drew up an elaborate report on the statistics of Wagur, a paper for which he received the thanks of the governor and members of the council of Bombay. In 1828, he was honoured by a similar testimony for a memoir on the eastern mouth of the Indus; and in September, 1829, he was appointed assistant to the political agent in Cutch, for the purpose of effecting a survey of the north-west border of that province. Burnes, who had been there four years previous, as ensign of the 21st Bombay Native Infantry, during the disturbances of that

quarter, returned in his new capacity, and discharged his task with his wonted ability and success. His account of this survey is contained in the "Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society for 1834."

The talents of Burnes as an oriental linguist and statist having thus been tested, instead of being allowed to rest, were summoned to higher exertion. In the growth of our Indo-British empire, it was necessary that the Indus, whose approaches had hitherto been so carefully shut up to British mercantile enterprise, should be thrown open to our ships, but, at the same time, without exciting the jealousy of those wild tribes who regarded the river as the pledge of their national freedom. To disarm suspicion, therefore, it was resolved that this object should be covertly accomplished, by means of a political mission ostensibly directed to a different purpose. A present of five large and splendid horses, accompanied by a letter from the sovereign of Great Britain, were to be consigned to Runjeet Singh, the celebrated Maharajah of the Punjab; and on the way to Lahore for that purpose, Lieutenant Burnes, by whom the mission was to be conducted, was to travel by the circuitous route of Scinde. He was provided with letters addressed to the chieftains of the province, and to conceal the real purpose of his journey, and facilitate his progress, he enlisted in his service a guard of wild Beeloochees, instead of taking with him a troop of British soldiers, whose appearance would have awakened the jealousy of the natives. Thus provided, Burnes commenced his journey, and reached the mouth of the Indus on the 28th of January, 1831. He had now a difficult diplomatic task to perform, for the Ameers of Scinde had taken the alarm, and every delay which they could devise was thrown in the way of his further progress. This, however, was nothing more than what he wished; for, during the delay occasioned by their feigned negotiations, he had made a complete survey of the mouths of the river, and constructed a map of the lower part of its course; he also obtained their full permission to continue his journey on the Indus, instead of travelling by land, and their assent that thenceforth it should be left open to the transit of British merchandise. Proceeding along the river by water, and visiting every place of interest upon his way, he at length reached Lahore on the 18th of July. As the real and most important part of his journey was already accomplished, all that remained was little more than a mere political visit of ceremony, graced with all the showy forms of an oriental embassy, and an amusing account of which he has given us in the third volume of his "Travels in Bokhara." Splendid retinues, with abundance of trumpeting and cannonading, welcomed him into the capital of the modern Timour; and on entering the palace, and putting off his shoes on the threshold, according to the Asiatic rule of etiquette, Burnes suddenly found himself locked in the embrace of a diminutive old man, who was no other than Runjeet Singh himself, eager to do him honour, and who had come out thus far to welcome him. After sojourning till the middle of August at the court of Runjeet Singh, by whom he was treated with the utmost kindness, Burnes left Lahore, and having crossed the Sutledge, he proceeded to Loodiana, where he became acquainted with Shah Zeman and Shah Soojah, who had formerly been kings of Cabool, but were now disrowned, and living under British protection. He then continued his journey, and arrived at Simla, where he met Lord William Bentinck, the governor-general, who forthwith proceeded to avail himself of Burnes' mission, by negotiations for opening the navigation of the Indus.

After this successful expedition, Burnes proposed to Lord Bentinck to under-

take an exploratory journey into Central Asia, to which the latter eagerly acceded. The Indian government having sanctioned his Lordship's permission, Burnes commenced this new and adventurous journey in January, 1832. As yet, much of the interior of our vast Indian empire was but little known, and even the charts of many districts that had been penetrated by British travellers were still incorrect or defective. One important advantage of this journey of Burnes was an addition to the map of Arrowsmith, the most valuable of our Indian charts, to which he supplied some of its best improvements. As it was necessary to pass through Scinde in his route, he had previously sought and obtained permission to that effect from his powerful friend, the Maharajah. He therefore once more entered Lahore, at which he arrived on the 17th of January, and was cordially welcomed by Runjeet Singh; and after a stay there till the 11th of February, he crossed the Ravee, and having halted one night in a house beside the monument of Jehangur, he prepared for the dangerous part of his journey. It was necessary for this purpose that he should be completely disguised, and therefore he assumed the dress and habits, and as much as possible the appearance, of an Afghan. He had for the companion of his journey, Mr. James Gerard, surgeon of the Bengal army, who clothed himself with a similar costume; and, after leaving behind them every article of their luggage that might indicate their country or purpose, the travellers commenced their pilgrimage of peril, escorted by a body of troops provided by the Maharajah. They were thus accompanied to the frontier of Runjeet's dominions, a short distance on the further side of the Attock, where they met the Afghans, by whom they were escorted to Acora. They afterwards successively reached Peshawur, Jellalabad, and Cabool; scaled the lofty passes of Oonna and Hageegak, on the latter of which, 12,400 feet in height at its highest point, the frost was so intense that the snow bore the weight of their horses, and the thermometer fell to 4° of Fahrenheit. On attempting subsequently to surmount the pass of Kalao, which is a thousand feet higher, they found it so blocked up with snow as to be impassable, and were compelled to choose another route, by which they reached Ghoolgoola, that city, or rather valley of ruins, famed for its two colossal statues, the largest of which is 120 feet in height, and for the hills that enclose the valley, which are absolutely honey-combed with excavations. They then crossed the pass of Acrobat; and descending from the mountains of the Indian Caucasus, they entered the vast plains of Tartary. At Khooloom, the frontier town of Morad Beg, chief of Khoondooz, the bold travellers were met by a startling message from that potentate, requiring Burnes to wait upon him at Kaumabad, a village about fifty miles off. Obedience was unavoidable; and therefore, leaving Mr. Gerard at Khooloom, Burnes repaired to Kaumabad, and presented himself before the chief in tattered and threadbare garments, under the character of a poor Armenian watchmaker travelling from Lucknow to Bokhara. A moment's timidity on his part, or suspicion on that of the Asiatic lord, might have cost the traveller his life; but, fortunately, his statement was believed, so that he received a safe conduct to continue his journey, and he left Kaumabad in the company of a small caravan of nine or ten tea-merchants.

This danger being thus happily got over, Burnes rejoined Mr. Gerard at Khooloom. Their route was continued, and they arrived at Balkh, that wondrous city of history and romance, with which our childhood and youth were made so familiar. Now a heap of ruins in the midst of a glory that has passed

away, but still covering an extent of twenty miles with its fragments, it is a fitting monument of the many empires to which it has belonged; for here the Greek, Persian, Arabian, Tartar, and Afghan, have successively ruled. Strange, therefore, have been the changes it has witnessed since the time that it was the Bactra of Alexander the Great! After halting for three days in this interesting compend of ancient and modern history, Burnes and Gerard entered the desert on the 14th of June, and, two days after, they reached the banks of the Oxus, that most important of Asiatic rivers, which bounded the conquests of Cyrus, and all but terminated those of Alexander. At that part which our travellers crossed, the river was about 800 yards wide, and twenty feet deep, where the transit was made in boats neither impelled by sail nor oar, but drawn by a couple of stout horses that swam across. Continuing their course, they reached on the 27th of June the city of Bokhara, the capital of the country of that name, a city whose remaining colleges still justify its ancient renown for learning and civilization, and the high encomiums which eastern poets heaped upon it. After waiting in the neighbourhood of the city of Kara-kool till the 16th of August, Burnes and Gerard resumed their journey in the company of a caravan consisting of 150 persons and 80 camels, the former travelling in very simple fashion, some on horses, some on asses, and several in panniers slung across the backs of camels. With this escort our travellers passed the great desert by Merve, and on the 17th of September reached the strong fortress of Koochan, where they parted, Gerard intending to proceed to Herat and Candahar, and afterwards return to Cabool. Burnes continued his journey in the company of 300 persons, chiefly Khoords, Persians, and Turcomans—three of the eleven races with which the province of Bokhara is peopled—until he had passed Boojnoord, when he continued his journey alone to the town of Astrabad. He then crossed an arm of the Caspian, and proceeded to Teheran, the modern capital of Persia, where he had the honour of being presented to the Shah. Such is a brief outline of one of the perilous and laborious journeys in which a chivalrous love of science enables the modern traveller to dare and endure the utmost that knight-errantry has recorded of its ancient votaries.

The object of this expedition having been successfully attained, Burnes was eager to return by the shortest and safest route to head-quarters, and report his proceedings. He therefore embarked at Bushire for Bombay, which he reached on the 18th of January, after a year's absence. The information he had gathered during this adventurous journey, and which he hastened to lay before the government, was so valuable in the statistical and geographical history of these countries with which India is so closely connected, that he received the especial thanks of the governor-general, and was honoured besides with the commission of carrying his own despatches to England. He accordingly set sail for London, where his services were so highly appreciated, that he not only met with the most flattering reception at the India House, but was honoured with the especial thanks of his sovereign. Fresh distinctions crowded upon him as soon as the results of his labours were known to the public. The narrative of his journey was immediately translated into French and German; he was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society; and presented with the gold medal, and royal premium of fifty guineas, for "The Navigation of the Indus, and a Journey by Balkh and Bokhara across Central Asia." Nor were these acknowledgments of his services in behalf of science, literature, and humanity, confined to his own country; for,

on paying a short visit to Paris, he was welcomed with general enthusiasm as one of the most talented and adventurous of modern travellers, and presented with the silver medal of the French Geographical Society.

The stay of Burnes at home after so long a residence in India, and so much travel, was comparatively brief, extending to only eighteen months, after which he left England on April 5, 1835, and proceeding by the south of France, Egypt, and the Red Sea, he reached Bombay on the 1st of June, and joined Colonel Pottinger, the British Resident at Cutch, as his assistant. Only a few months after, he was sent upon a mission to Hyderabad, to prevent the necessity of a war with Scinde, in which he was successful. While thus occupied in that country, a more important duty was intrusted to him; this was, to negotiate a commercial treaty with Dost Mohammed, sovereign of Afghanistan, and also with the Indian chiefs of the western provinces. He reached Cabool on the 20th of September, 1837. Here, however, he found that his mission was useless, from the danger that menaced our Indian empire through the movements and intrigues of Persia and Russia, and the likelihood of their uniting with the Afghans, while Dost Mohammed, instigated by the Russian agent at his court, gave Burnes an order of dismissal. On his return to head-quarters, it was resolved by the Indian government to replace their pensionary, Shah Soojah, upon the throne of Cabool, as a more peaceable or compliant ally than Dost Mohammed; and Burnes was sent to the army to make arrangements in the commissariat department, preparatory to the invasion of Afghanistan. While thus occupied, he was gratified to learn that his valuable services had not been forgotten at home, for at Shikarpoor he received a copy of the "London Gazette," announcing his promotion to the honour of knighthood and the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Before the commencement of military operations, Sir Alexander Burnes was sent on a political mission from Scinde to Beeloochistan, that failed, upon which he rejoined the British invading army, that had already advanced, through many difficulties, as far as the fertile valley of Quettah. Here he saw hard military service in the shape of a toilsome march, accompanied with danger and privation of every kind, as well as in the storming of Ghuznee, which was only wrested from the Afghans after a close and desperate hand-to-hand fight of three hours. After this important city was won, Hyder Khan, its governor, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed, who had surrendered himself to the British, was placed under the care of Sir Alexander Burnes. Soon after, Dost Mohammed fled from the kingdom, Shah Soojah was replaced in the sovereignty, and such was the appearance of submission on the part of the Afghans, that Sir William M'Naughten was left as British envoy at the court of Cabool, with Sir Alexander Burnes for his assistant. But, unfortunately, this season of calm was soon overcast. The impatient Afghans resumed their insurrectionary spirit, and on several occasions broke forth into revolts that were suppressed with difficulty. Still, however, neither M'Naughten nor Burnes seem to have anticipated any immediate danger, notwithstanding the warnings of Major Pottinger, for 14,000 British soldiers were stationed in Afghanistan, independent of the troops of the new Shah. But, on the 2nd November, 1841, the storm suddenly burst out. At nine o'clock in the morning, the house of Burnes in Cabool was attacked and set on fire by the insurgent multitude, and himself, his brother Lieutenant Charles Burnes, Lieutenant Broadfoot, and every man, woman, and child in the building were murdered. It was the commencement of a fearful tragedy, of which a disastrous retreat, and the destruction

of twenty-six thousand individuals by exhaustion and the sabres of the pursuing Afghans were the mournful termination.

Our immortal national poet Burns, half-despondingly half-playfully, has sometimes expressed his regret, more especially when the pressure of poverty was at the worst, that he had not repaired in his youth to India, as so many of his countrymen had done, and become a thriving merchant, instead of a peniless bard. But little did he think of the destiny that awaited two of his nephews there—and last of all his grandson! Sir Alexander was never married, and was survived by his parents and three brothers. Besides his “*Travels into Bokhara*,” and several papers in the “*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*,” he was author of a work, entitled, “*Cabool; being a Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence in that City, in the Years 1836–7–8*,” which was published after his death.

BURNET, JAMES, Landscape Painter.—Among the lives of eminent men it often happens that some individual obtains a place, more on account of the excellence he indicated than that which he realized; and whom a premature death extinguishes, just when a well-spent youth of high promise has commenced those labours by which the hopes he excited would in all likelihood be amply fulfilled. Such examples we do not willingly let die, and this must form our chief apology for the introduction of a short memoir of James Burnet in the present work. He was of a family that came originally from Aberdeen, and was born at Musselburgh, in the year 1788. His father, George Burnet, of whom he was the fourth son, held the important office of general surveyor of excise in Scotland: his mother, Anne Cruikshank, was sister to the distinguished anatomist whose name is so honourably associated with the professional studies of John Hunter. In the education of most minds that attain to distinguished excellence, it will generally be found that the maternal care predominates in helping to form the young ideas, and give them their proper direction; and such was the good fortune of James Burnet, whose mother, during the evening, was wont to aid him in the preparation of the school-room lessons for the following day. He soon evinced his natural bias towards art, not only by juvenile attempts in drawing, but his frequent visits to the studio of Scott, the landscape engraver, with whom his brother John, afterwards so eminent as an engraver, was a pupil. On account of these indications, James was placed under the care of Liddel, to learn the mystery of wood-carving, at that time in high request, and productive of great profit to those who excelled in it; and as skill in drawing was necessary for acquiring proficiency in this kind of delineation, he was also sent to the Trustees' Academy, where he studied under Graham, the early preceptor of the most distinguished of our modern Scottish artists. It was not wonderful that, thus circumstanced, James Burnet's taste for carving in wood was soon superseded by the higher departments of art. He quickly perceived the superiority of a well-finished delineation upon canvas or paper over the stiff cherubs, scrolls, and wreaths that were laboriously chiselled upon side-boards and bed-posts, and chose his vocation accordingly: he would be an artist. With this view, he transmitted to his brother John, now employed as an engraver in London, several specimens of his drawings, expressing also his earnest desire to commence life as a painter in the great metropolis; and without waiting for an answer, he impatiently followed his application, in person, and arrived in London in 1810. A letter of acquiescence from his brother, which his hurry had anticipated, was already on the way to Edinburgh,

and therefore his arrival in London, although so sudden and unexpected, was far from being unwelcome.

It required no long stay in the British capital to convince the young aspirant that he had much yet to learn before he could become an artist. But he also found that London could offer such lessons as Edinburgh had been unable to furnish. This conviction first struck him on seeing Wilkie's "Blind Fiddler," of which his brother John was executing the well-known and justly-admired engraving. James was arrested and rivetted by the painting, so unlike all he had hitherto admired and copied: it was, he perceived, in some such spirit as this that he must select from nature, and imitate it, if he would succeed in his daring enterprise. This conviction was further confirmed by studying the productions of the eminent Dutch masters in the British Gallery, where he found that originality of conception was not only intimately blended with the truthfulness of nature, but made subservient to its authority. He must therefore study nature herself where she was best to be found—among the fields, and beneath the clear skies, where the beauty of form and the richness of colour presented their infinite variety to the artist's choice, and taught him the best modes of arranging them upon the canvas. Forth he accordingly went, with nothing but his note-book and pencil; and among the fields, in the neighbourhood of London, he marked with an observant eye the various objects that most struck his fancy, and made short sketches of these, to be afterwards amplified into paintings. It was remarked, also, in this collection of hasty pencillings, that instead of seeking to aggrandize the works of nature, he faithfully copied them as he found them. "He has introduced," says a judicious critic, speaking of one of his paintings, "everything that could in any way characterize the scene. The rainbow in the sky, the glittering of the rain upon the leaves; the dripping poultry under the hedge, the reflections of the cattle on the road, and the girl with the gown over her shoulders, all tend with equal force to illustrate his subject." Not content, also, with the mere work of sketching in the fields, he was accustomed to note down in his book such observations in connection with the sketch as might be available for the future picture, or those remarks in reference to light and shade that were applicable to painting in general. The result of this training was soon perceptible in the increasing excellence of his successive productions, of which Allan Cunningham, his biographer, well remarks:—"His trees are finely grouped; his cows are all beautiful; they have the sense to know where the sweetest grass grows; his milk-maids have an air of natural elegance about them, and his cow-boys are not without grace."

Of the paintings of James Burnet, some of which are in the possession of his relatives, and others among the costly picture galleries of our nobility, the following is a list:—

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| 1. Cattle going out in the morning. | 7. Milking. |
| 2. Cattle returning home in a shower. | 8. Crossing the bridge. |
| 3. Key of the byre. | 9. Inside of a cow-house. |
| 4. Crossing the brook. | 10. Going to market. |
| 5. Cow-boys and cattle. | 11. Cattle by a pool in summer. |
| 6. Breaking the ice. | 12. Boy with cows. |

While Burnet was thus pursuing a course of self-education that drew him onward step by step in improvement, and promised to conduct him to a very high

rank among pastoral and landscape painters, a disease had latterly attended him in his wanderings, that too often selects the young and the sensitive for its victims. This was consumption, a disease which his lonely habits and sedentary employment in the open air were only too apt to aggravate; and, although a change of scene and atmosphere was tried by his removal to Lee in Kent, it was soon evident that his days were numbered. Even then, however, when scarcely able to walk, he was to be found lingering among the beautiful scenery of Lee and Lewisham, with his pencil and note-book in hand, and to the last he talked with his friends about painting, and the landscapes that he still hoped to delineate. He died on the 27th of July, 1816. His dying wish was to be buried in the village church of Lee, in whose picturesque church-yard he had so often wandered and mused during the last days of his illness; but as sepulture in that privileged place could not be granted to a stranger, his remains were interred in the church-yard of Lewisham. At his death he had only reached his twenty-eighth year.

BURNS, ALLAN.—This talented anatomist and surgical writer, in whom a life of high promise was too soon arrested, was the son of the Rev. Dr. Burns, minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow; a venerable clergyman, who, after bearing for several years the title of "father of the Church of Scotland," on account of his seniority, died in 1839, at the very advanced age of ninety-six. Allan Burns was born at Glasgow on the 18th September, 1781. When not more than fourteen years old, he entered the medical classes, where his diligence and proficiency were so remarkable, that only two years afterwards, he was able to undertake the entire direction of the dissecting-rooms of Mr. John Burns, his brother, who at that time was a lecturer on anatomy and surgery in the city of Glasgow. In this situation, his opportunities of extending and perfecting his knowledge were so carefully employed, that he attained, even though still a youth, a high reputation among the practical anatomists of his day. His views being directed to medical practice in the army, he went to London, in 1804, for the purpose of obtaining a commission; but, before his application was made to that effect, he received an offer that altered his intention. It was to repair to St. Petersburg, and undertake the charge of an hospital which the Empress Catherine was desirous of establishing in her capital, upon the English plan. Allan Burns had been recommended to her majesty by Dr. Creighton, as one every way qualified for this important charge; and when the offer was made, it was with the understanding that he might make a six months' trial before finally closing with it. Tempted by so alluring a prospect, Burns left London for St. Petersburg, and commenced the duties of his new career. But Russia was not at that time the country which it has now become, and the sensitive mind of the young Scot was soon sickened by the Asiatic pomp and Scythian barbarism with which he was surrounded. On this account, he abandoned the tempting prospects of court favour and professional advancement that were held out to him, and returned to Scotland before the six months of probation had ended. At his departure, he was presented by the empress with a valuable diamond ring, as a token of the royal approbation and esteem.

On returning to his native country, which was at the commencement of 1805, Burns resolved to occupy the place of his brother, who had discontinued his lectures on surgery and anatomy. This he did in the winter of the following year, and quickly won the admiration of his pupils, by the correctness and extent of his professional knowledge, and great power of illustration. Indeed, as a lecturer, the most abstruse subjects in his hands became plain and palpable,

and the driest subjects full of interest. Still, however, notwithstanding his reputation as a lecturer, his fame would have been limited and evanescent, had it not been for the works he published, by which the high admiration of those who knew him was participated in by the world at large. The first of these publications, which appeared in 1809, was entitled, "Observations on some of the most Frequent and Important Diseases of the Heart: or Aneurism of the Thoracic Aorta; or Preternatural Pulsation in the Epigastric Region; and on the Unusual Origin and Distribution of some of the Large Arteries of the Human Body; Illustrated by Cases." The second, which was published in 1812, was entitled, "Observations on the Surgical Anatomy of the Head and Neck; Illustrated by Cases." This was the whole amount of his authorship, with the exception of two essays, which he contributed to the "Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal;" one, on the anatomy of the parts concerned in the operation for crural hernia; the other, on the operation of lithotomy. The career of professional distinction which these works had so favourably opened up to him, was closed before it could be further pursued. So early as 1810, his health had begun to give way, and though he continued to lecture for two years afterwards, it was with great difficulty and pain. His death occurred on the 22d of June, 1813.

BURNS, JOHN, M.D., a distinguished medical writer, and elder brother of Allan, the subject of the preceding notice, was born in Glasgow, in 1774. He was descended from a family of the name of *Burn*; his grandfather, John Burn, was a teacher of English in Glasgow, and the author of an "English Grammar," bearing his name, a work highly popular as a school-book in the west of Scotland about a century ago. His father was the Rev. John Burns, D.D., who, as has been already mentioned, was minister for upwards of sixty-nine years, of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, and who died in 1839. John, who was the eldest surviving son of Dr. Burns, was born in 1775. He began his professional studies in Glasgow, and continued them in Edinburgh. He had just completed his studies when the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, in which he was the first surgeon's clerk, was opened for the reception of patients in 1792. His favourite department of medical science was surgical anatomy, in which he made remarkable progress. He soon began to give instructions to others, and was the first private teacher of anatomy in Glasgow. His lecture-room was originally at the head of Virginia Street, at the north-west corner, behind the present Union Bank. At that period, and for thirty years afterwards, subjects for dissection could only be obtained by violating the repose of the dead; a practice most demoralizing to those immediately engaged in it, and not unfrequently productive of unpleasant consequences to lecturers and students. An affair of this nature having transpired in connection with the lecture-room of Mr. Burns, proceedings were instituted against him by the authorities, but were quashed on his coming under a promise to discontinue his lectures on anatomy. His younger brother Allan, however, took up the anatomical lectures, and John began to lecture on midwifery. The lecture-room of the brothers was removed to a tenement built on the site of the old Bridewell, on the north side of College Street. They were both successful as lecturers. Allan's style was monotonous and unpleasing, but his demonstrations were admirable. John's manner was the more agreeable, his knowledge was exact, his views were practical, and his lectures were interspersed with anecdotes and strokes of humour which rendered them highly attractive to the students. Dr. Burns now began to exhibit the fruits of his studies in a series of important

contributions to the literature of his profession. His first publication of note was the "Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus," which appeared in 1799. This was followed in 1800 by two volumes on "Inflammation," in which he was the first to describe a species of cancer, which is now known by the name of "fungus hæmatodes." These two works stamped their author as an observing, original, and practical inquirer. They were followed by "Observations on Abortion," in 1806; "Observations on Uterine Hæmorrhage," in 1807; and by the most popular of all his medical writings, "The Principles of Midwifery," in 1809; a book which has been translated into various languages, and has passed through numerous editions. In 1828-38 appeared the "Principles of Surgery," in two volumes, a work which cost Dr. Burns much pains, but did not meet with corresponding success. He likewise published a popular work on the "Treatment of Women and Children."

Dr. Burns married, in 1801, the daughter of the Rev. John Duncan, minister of the parish of Alva, in Stirlingshire. He continued to lecture on midwifery till 1815, when the Crown instituted a regius professorship of surgery in the university of Glasgow, to which chair he was appointed, and discharged its duties till the close of his life. In 1810 his wife died, and he remained a widower during the forty years that he survived her. By her he had four children, the youngest, Allan, named after his uncle, was born in January, 1810.

At an early period in his professional career, Dr. Burns became surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and distinguished himself by the nerve with which he operated. He subsequently became the partner of Mr. Muir, and, after that gentleman's death, of Mr. Alexander Dunlop, a connection which brought him into excellent family practice. His son, Allan, followed the medical profession, and, having completed his studies, after a residence of three years on the Continent, he commenced practice in 1832. With an intimate knowledge of medical science, and a strong love of anatomical pursuits, he was rising fast into eminence, when intermittent fever, caught in the prosecution of his duties, carried him off after a short illness, in November, 1843, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. It was not till his son entered upon public practice, that the subject of this memoir took out his degree, which he had previously refused to do. He was shortly afterwards elected physician to the Royal Infirmary. He had subsequently considerable practice as a consulting physician. Dr. Burns had, however, been gradually retiring from the labours of his profession, when the severe affliction, caused by his son's death, befel him. He then gave up everything but his professorial duties, devoting much of his time to carrying out the views of the principal and professors of the college as respected the medical school—and, in token of their gratitude, he was requested by the Senatus to sit for his portrait, which, having been painted by Mr. John Graham Gilbert, was placed in the Hunterian museum of the college.

Early in life, and while yet a student in the university of Edinburgh, his mind was imbued with those religious principles which regulated his whole career, and sustained him amidst many afflictive bereavements. To the religious world he became favourably known by a work entitled, "The Principles of Christian Philosophy," which has gone through several editions, and promises to hold a permanent place in religious literature. In this treatise, the author illustrates the following propositions:—"Man is created for a future state of happiness; the means by which a future state of happiness is procured; what is required of man that he may obtain it; nature of, and preparation for,

the future state of happiness; personal and relative duties; the duties men owe to God; the admonitions and consolations afforded by the Christian religion." The principles of the work are thoroughly scriptural and evangelical; its style is elegant, chaste, and grave; its spirit earnest and solemnising. It is the utterance of a heart much exercised in affliction, and intimately conversant with the sources of true and permanent consolation. It gives expression to remarkably elevating yet sober conceptions of the heavenly felicity, and dwells with touching interest on the prospect of the re-union of the ties of affection severed on earth. "The Christian Philosophy" is at once meditative, devotional, and practical, and to many "mourners in Zion" the author must often have proved himself "a son of consolation."

Dr. Burns also published another religious book, entitled, "Christian Fragments." Although brought up in the Church of Scotland, of which he was an elder, he became a member of the Episcopal Church, and died in its communion. His end was sudden and melancholy. He perished in the wreck of the *Orion* steam-boat, on her passage from Liverpool to Glasgow, on the 18th of June, 1850. Having finished his course and kept the faith, he was removed from the world in the attitude and exercise of prayer. He had reached the mature age of seventy-five.

Dr. John Burns was F.R.S., and a member of the Institute of France, and of several other scientific institutions in various countries. In politics, he was a staunch Conservative. He was of a cheerful disposition, was a great favourite with his patients, and towards his professional brethren he behaved on all occasions in the most honourable manner. In person he was under the middle height, with grey flowing locks, and his dress was scrupulously neat and antique. Few individuals in Glasgow were unacquainted with his exterior, and thousands who knew little of his professional attainments were yet familiar with his appearance as a venerable medical gentleman of the old school. His eldest and only surviving son, Lieutenant-Colonel Burns, of the second Queen's Regiment, died at the Cape of Good Hope towards the close of 1852.

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CALDER, SIR ROBERT, Bart.—It has been truly remarked by Hallam, that the state trials of England exhibit the most appalling accumulation of judicial iniquity that can be found in any age or country. And why? Because, as he adds, the monarch cannot wreak his vengeance, or the nobles vent the bitterness of their feuds, except in a law court, and by a legal process. The trials connected with the history of the British navy, and the iniquitous sentences passed upon some of our most heroic and deserving admirals, attest too fully the truth of Hallam's observation. Byng, Matthews, Cochrane—the first shot, the second cashiered, and the third imprisoned, from no adequate cause, or without cause whatever, are cases that seem to carry us back, not to the dark ages, when heroism at least was fairly appreciated, but to the old Carthaginian periods, when the bravest generals were crucified as often as their rivals entered into place and power. A fourth British admiral, who was the victim of an unjust trial and most undeserved punishment, was Sir Robert Calder, the subject of the present notice. And we judge it the more necessary to introduce him with the preced-

ing remarks, as it is only now, after the lapse of many years, that men are disposed to render full justice to his memory and worth.

Robert Calder was the second son of Sir Thomas Calder of Muirton, Morayshire, and was born at Elgin on the 2d of July, 1745. At the age of fourteen he entered the navy as midshipman. At the age of twenty-one he had attained the rank of lieutenant on board the *Essex*, commanded by the Hon. George Falkner, and served on the West India station. Promotion, however, was long in coming, for it was not until many years had elapsed that he obtained the command of a ship. In 1782, he was captain of the *Diana*, which was employed as a repeating frigate to Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt. At this period, also, he was an unwilling sharer in one of those events which the British historian is compelled to record to the shame of our glorious navy. The united fleets of France and Spain had appeared upon our coasts; but Sir Charles Hardy who commanded the English fleet, was ordered not to risk an engagement, so that he was obliged to retire between the Wolf-rock and the Main. Such an inglorious retreat, at a time when the flag of Rodney was triumphant, so maddened our gallant tars, that they muffled with their hammocks a figure-head of George III., swearing that his majesty should not be witness of their flight. Captain Calder, who belonged to the rear-division, so fully sympathized in their feelings, that, although his vessel was within a short distance of a large French two-decker, that could have blown him out of the water by a single broadside, he kept his place, until he was peremptorily ordered by signal to retire.

On the renewal of war with France, Captain Calder was employed in various services, from which little individual distinction was to be acquired; but in these he acquitted himself so well as to establish his character for naval skill and courage. He was finally appointed captain of the fleet by Sir John Jervis, and was present at the memorable engagement of the 14th of February, 1797, off Cape St. Vincent, when the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line and twelve frigates was completely defeated by Jervis, with only fifteen ships and six frigates. On this great occasion, where Nelson and Collingwood were the heroes of the encounter, Captain Calder acquitted himself so ably, that on being sent home with the despatches, he was honoured with knighthood, and afterwards made a baronet. On the 14th of February, 1799, he rose in the service by seniority to the rank of rear-admiral; and, in 1801, was sent with a small squadron in chase of Admiral Gantheaume, who was carrying supplies to the French army in Egypt. A short-lived peace soon followed, and Sir Robert Calder retired to his residence in Hampshire, from which he was quickly recalled to sea by the renewal of hostilities with France; and, in 1804, he was raised to the rank of Vice-admiral of the White.

This fresh commencement of war was an event of more than common importance to Great Britain. Its liberty, its very existence as a nation, was now at stake; for Bonaparte, hitherto so successful in all his enterprises, had resolved to invade it, and for this purpose was making preparations at Boulogne commensurate with what he meant to be his crowning enterprise. An immense flotilla was constructed and put in readiness to convey an army of 150,000 veteran soldiers from Boulogne to the shores of Kent, after which, a march upon London was deemed an easy achievement. Still further to insure the facilities of such an invasion, these flat-bottomed transports were ostentatiously armed, as if they alone were intended to force a passage across the British Channel, and thus the attention of our statesmen was withdrawn from the real point where

danger was to be apprehended. This consisted in the contemplated junction of the French and Spanish fleets, which was to be effected while the eyes of England were exclusively fixed upon the land show of preparations going on at Boulogne. While these warlike boats were intended for transports, and nothing more, Napoleon's real design was to collect forty or fifty ships of the line in the harbour of Martinique, by operations combined in the harbours of Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, and Brest; to bring them suddenly back to Boulogne; and while thus making himself for fifteen days master of the sea, to have his whole army transported into England without interruption.

Never, perhaps, since the days of William the Conqueror, had England been in such imminent jeopardy. While her statesmen were still thrown off their guard, and imagining that the only danger lay in the flotilla, the vessels preparing in the ports of Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthageua consisted of thirty-eight French, and thirty Spanish ships of the line; and these, if combined, would have been sufficient to hold the English Channel against all the force which our nation could muster. To attempt a blockade of the hostile harbours was the only expedient that occurred to the British government in this emergency, and the important task of blockading the ports of Ferrol and Corunna was intrusted to Sir Robert Calder. Even yet, however, the design of Bonaparte was so little surmised, that Sir Robert's force on this occasion was utterly incommensurate with the greatness of the crisis, for only seven sail were allowed him, which were afterwards raised to nine; and with these he was to prevent five French ships of the line and three frigates, and five Spanish ships of the line and four frigates, from leaving the hostile harbours. Thus the blockade was to be maintained by a force which was greatly inferior to that of the enemy. Undismayed by this disparity, Sir Robert entered his appointed station, and maintained it, notwithstanding the manœuvres of the Brest squadron to entice him into the open sea.

At length the moment arrived which Bonaparte had so keenly anticipated. The imperfect blockades of the British had been in several cases eluded; the West Indies had been reached by several hostile squadrons; and Nelson, who had gone in pursuit without being able to reach them, only learned at the last moment, that the combined French and Spanish fleets had set sail from Martinique, and were in full return to Europe. A swift sailing vessel, which he sent with this intelligence, happily outstripped the combined fleet, and thus, at the last moment, and by an intervention truly providential, the British government was put upon its guard. The first movement of the enemy, to which they were directed in consequence of the express command of Bonaparte, was to raise the blockade of Ferrol, and that accomplished, to proceed with the French and Spanish ships lying there to the relief of the other ports, by which their whole combined navy would be collected in full force in the English Channel. Sir Robert Calder was thus to abide the first brunt of the onset, and upon the stoutness of his resistance the issue of the great trial between France and England would mainly depend. Conscious of this, the British government despatched instant orders to rear-admiral Stirling, who commanded a squadron before Rochefort, to raise the blockade of that harbour, join Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol, and cruise with him off Cape Finisterre, to intercept the allied fleet of the enemy on their homeward passage to Brest.

As soon as the junction between the two British squadrons was effected, Sir Robert Calder stood out to sea, and quickly reached the station appointed for his cruise. Although the addition of Stirling's squadron raised his whole force to

nothing more than fifteen ships of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, he had little fear of the issue, as the French and Spanish fleet was supposed to amount to only sixteen ships. But as soon as the enemy hove in sight, looming through a fog that had concealed their approach until they were close at hand, it was found that they consisted of twenty line-of-battle ships, a fifty gun ship, seven frigates, and two brigs. This was an unexpected and startling disparity; but Sir Robert boldly entered into action, although the fog that had commenced in the morning made it necessary for his ships, which bore down in two columns, to tack before they reached the enemy. A close action of four hours ensued, in which the British, notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, behaved with such gallantry and spirit that a signal victory would probably have been the consequence, had it not been for the haze, which became so dense, that Sir Robert was scarcely able to see his ships either ahead or astern. As it was, he had already captured two large Spanish ships, the *Rafael* of eighty-four, and the *Firme* of seventy-four guns; and judging it imprudent to continue the fight, he brought-to, for the purpose of covering his prizes, and waiting an opportunity to renew the engagement. On the following day, the French and Spanish fleet, having the advantage of the windward, advanced within a league and a-half of the British, upon which, Sir Robert hauling on the wind, offered them battle; but Villeneuve, the admiral of the combined fleet, refused the challenge, by hauling to the wind on the same tack as his adversary. On the third day, Sir Robert once more offered battle, but in vain: and being now justly apprehensive of the union of the enemy with the Rochefort and Ferrol squadrons, under whose combined force his own would have been overwhelmed, he fell back, relying upon the support of the Channel fleet, or that of Lord Nelson, while Villeneuve, instead of holding on in his course, was fain to retire into Ferrol. This meeting, that was fraught with such momentous consequences, occurred in lat. 43° 30' north, and long. 11° 17' west, or about forty leagues from Ferrol, on the 22d of July, 1805.

Nothing could exceed the rage and vexation of Napoleon at this engagement and its result. He saw, that by this single stroke, all his preparations at Boulogne were frustrated, and the projected invasion of England rendered hopeless. As soon as he received the tidings, he summoned Count Daru, his private secretary, into the apartment, who, on entering, found the emperor traversing the room with hurried steps, and exclaiming, "What a navy! What sacrifices for nothing! What an admiral! All hope is gone! That Villeneuve, instead of entering the Channel, has taken refuge in Ferrol! It is all over: he will be blockaded there. Daru, sit down and write." Daru took up his pen accordingly, and, with the rapidity of lightning, Napoleon dictated the details of the breaking up of the army at Boulogne, the routes and movements of the different corps, and all the complicated minutiae of the campaign that ended so triumphantly at Austerlitz. In this manner, the terrible storm that was to have gathered and burst over London, was suddenly wafted away to the shores of the Danube and the devoted palaces of Vienna. Speaking of his disappointment in after years, Bonaparte said, "If Admiral Villeneuve, instead of entering into the harbour of Ferrol, had contented himself with joining the Spanish squadron, and instantly made sail for Brest and joined Admiral Gantheaume, my army would have embarked, and it was all over with England."

While such was the judgment of Napoleon upon this event—and certainly no one was so fitted to tell its consequences—a very different estimation was made

of it in England. There, a long series of naval victories had so pampered the public vanity, that the defeat of a British fleet was deemed impossible, and any thing short of its full success a proof of the most culpable negligence and shortcoming. It was the counterpart of that land-delusion which made our countrymen imagine that every British soldier was able to beat three Frenchmen, until subsequent events reduced them to a more reasonable calculation. Of this overweening estimate Sir Robert Calder was soon to taste the bitter fruits. He had encountered a fleet, no matter how superior to his own, and not annihilated it; he had allowed it to slip through his fingers, and find shelter in a friendly harbour. In the meantime, the unconscious victim of such unreasonable obloquy was congratulating himself on his services, and anticipating nothing less than the approbation of his country. With an inferior force he had blocked up the enemy in port for nearly five months; he had afterwards encountered and held the combined fleet at bay when their ships greatly outnumbered his own, and made two valuable captures without losing a single vessel. These advantages were so justly appreciated by Lord Cornwallis, his superior in command, that on the 17th of August (1805), Calder was sent back with twenty ships to Ferrol, from which Villeneuve had ventured out at the express command of Napoleon, to join the French fleet at Brest; but, on hearing of Sir Robert Calder's approach, instead of pursuing his course, he tacked about and made sail for Cadiz, which he reached on the 21st. Thus Calder had the honour of baffling, for the second time, an expedition, upon which the fate of England was at stake; and Villeneuve, shut up in Cadiz, was obliged to remain at anchor-age there, until all was ready for the crushing disaster at Trafalgar.

But the same winds that carried Calder against his antagonist, and enabled him once more to baffle the most cherished of Napoleon's objects, also bore to his ears the murmurs of the Admiralty at home, and made him acquainted with the public prints in which his courage as a British sailor, and his loyalty as a British subject, were equally called in question. Indignant at these iniquitous aspersions, and the eagerness with which they were received, he resolved to right himself by a public trial. He therefore demanded from the Lords of the Admiralty the sitting of a court-martial upon his conduct, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Nelson that he should remain on the station, and await the expected engagement, in which his reputation would be fully cleared. On finding, however, that his brother-admiral was impatient of an hour's delay until his character was vindicated, the hero of the Nile sent him home in the Prince of Wales, his own ship of ninety guns, to do Calder the greater honour, although such a diminution from the fleet could be ill spared at that period. On the arrival of the vessel at Spithead, the court-martial was held on board, on the 23d of December, 1805. After the witnesses had been examined, Sir Robert entered upon his defence. He quoted several recent cases in which our best naval commanders had refrained from the renewal of an encounter without any impeachment of the propriety of their forbearance. He stated that the Rochefort and Ferrol squadrons, to the number of twenty sail of the line, were supposed to be at sea when the battle of the 22d of July occurred; and that had he waited for their junction with the enemy, whose force already so greatly exceeded his own, he must have been utterly overpowered. Even had he been only disabled in the encounter, these united squadrons might have pressed onward for Ireland, or even for England, and thus have facilitated the long-threatened invasion of our country. In this case, it was necessary to preserve his fleet for ulterior ope-

rations, instead of risking a renewal of the action, and the more especially so, that on the morning after the battle, he found himself eight or nine miles to leeward, while some of his ships were so greatly disabled, that they could not carry sufficient sail to windward, and others were wholly out of sight. Matters being such, and believing that the design of the enemy was to reach Ferrol, and there unite with the blockaded squadron, he had done what he could: he had thrown himself between the port of Ferrol and the combined fleet for two days under an easy press of sail, neither offering nor shunning an encounter; and as often as the enemy menaced a renewal of action, he had accepted the challenge by hauling up his wind. All this he stated at large, and with the most convincing perspicuity; and, at the close, he burst forth with the indignant eloquence of injured worth upon the wrong with which himself and his brave companions had been treated, and the manner in which his despatches had been mutilated, and some important parts of them suppressed, for the purpose of deepening the odium under which they were now suffering. But his arguments and his eloquence were in vain; a scape-goat was needed to carry off upon its innocent head the manifold blunders of the Admiralty, and Sir Robert Calder had been selected for this office. His defence accordingly was overruled, and on the 28th, the following sentence was pronounced:—"The Court is of opinion, that the charge of not having done his utmost to renew the engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, has been proved against the said vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder; that it appears that his conduct has not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection, but has arisen solely from error in judgment, and is highly censurable, and doth adjudge him to be severely reprimanded; and the said vice-admiral, Sir Robert Calder, is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly."

It would be ridiculous, in the present day, when the conduct of this gallant admiral is so well understood, and the greatness of his services so thoroughly appreciated, to allude to the injustice of such a sentence. It stands solitary and aloof, with the brand upon its forehead, and can only now condemn none but its authors. And happy will it be for them if their names can escape into utter obscurity, with the names of those who sat in judgment upon Miltiades and Scipio. In the defence of Sir Robert Calder, we perceive that he had made an indignant allusion to the mutilation and curtailment of his despatches. This serious charge unfortunately was too true, and the admiralty itself was guilty of the crime. In their published account, the following passage of Sir Robert was retained:—"The enemy are now in sight to windward; and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any further opportunity that may offer to give you a further account of these combined squadrons." In consequence of this announcement, a meeting between the hostile fleets for the renewal of the contest was anticipated; and as the hours went onward, the public ear in London was on the alert for the firing of the Tower guns, to announce a glorious victory. But the following passage, which would have abated this ardour, was omitted:—"At the same time, it will behove me to be on my guard against the combined squadrons in Ferrol, as I am led to believe that they have sent off one or two of their crippled ships last night for that port; therefore, possibly I may find it necessary to make a junction with you immediately off Ushant with the whole squadron." Had the admiralty published this part of Sir Robert's despatch, as they ought to have done, the nation would have seen at once that it

was impossible, with only fourteen ships ready for action, to encounter the opposite eighteen, should the latter be joined by the twenty line-of-battle ships whose arrival was hourly expected. But a sensation was to be produced, and hope excited, and therefore the chilling paragraph was fraudulently withheld. And when no victory ensued, the perpetrators of this deed endeavoured to conceal their blunder, and avert the public wrath by a condemnation that ought to have fallen, not upon Calder, but upon themselves.

Although the sentence of the court-martial was expected to soothe the popular disappointment, and for a short time succeeded, yet let no statesman venture upon such experiments with the British public. John Bull is reckoned indeed the very type of gullibility, and with good reason; but the honesty of heart in which this weakness originates is sure to recover the ascendancy, and examine the trial anew, in which case, the false witness and unrighteous judge have equally cause to tremble. Thus it was in the case of Sir Robert Calder. The public began to suspect that he had been unjustly dealt with, and further inquiry only strengthened the suspicion. The same feeling, although more tardily, at length obtained an entrance into head-quarters; and, in 1810, Mr. Yorke, then first lord of the Admiralty, ventured to express his conviction that Sir Robert had deserved very different treatment. In parliament, also, the same sentiment was expressed by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Romney. The result of this return to a proper feeling upon the subject, was the offer to Sir Robert, on the part of Mr. Yorke, of the important command of Plymouth, which the former accepted as a full testimony of his acquittal and recognition of his public services and worth. After Sir Robert Calder had held the appointment for three years, he died at Holt, near Bishop's Waltham, in Hants, on the 31st of August, 1818, in the 74th year of his age.

CAMERON, DONALD, of Lochiel.—This gallant Highland chief, who united such amiable manners and attractive accomplishments to the proverbial hardihood and valour of his race, that his name has descended to us under the title of "the gentle Lochiel," occupies the most conspicuous place in the history of the unfortunate rebellion of 1745, and may be considered as the fairest type of those chivalrous men by whom such a romantic lustre has been thrown over Jacobite loyalty and devotedness. He was grandson of that Sir Ewan Cameron, chief of Lochiel, of whom so many remarkable stories have been told, that he passes among Lowlanders as the Amadis de Gaul, or Guy of Warwick of the Highlands. Not the least remembered of these was his supreme contempt for Saxon effeminacy, so that in a night bivouac among the snow, he kicked a snowball from under his son's head, exclaiming, "What! are you become so luxurious that you cannot sleep without a pillow?" John Cameron, of Lochiel, the father of Donald, for the share he had taken in the rebellion of 1715, was obliged to escape to France, and in consequence of his attainder, the subject of this notice succeeded to the estates of his ancestors, and chieftainship of the clan. On account of his father being still alive, he was commonly called by the Highlanders "young Lochiel," although he was of mature age when he entered the field; but the precise year of his birth we are unable to discover.

As the grandfather and father of Donald had been steadfast adherents to the cause of the Stuarts, and as the clan Cameron was both numerous and powerful, the Chevalier de St. George opened a correspondence with the present chief, and invested him with full powers to negotiate in Scotland for the restoration of the exiled dynasty. Such was the state of affairs when the young Pretender, accom-

panied with only seven attendants, landed upon the western coast, and sent tidings to all his adherents in the neighbourhood of his arrival and its purposes. They were astounded at the intelligence. Had he come at the head of a strong re-inforcement of foreign troops, and supplied with money for the expenses of a campaign, the whole Highlands might have been armed in his cause, and the result would scarcely have been doubtful; but, on the present occasion, the Highland chieftains well knew that the hope of overturning three kingdoms by their own resources was utter madness, and that the attempt would only precipitate themselves and their followers into certain destruction. But now the Prince was among them, and all but alone: he had thrown himself upon their loyalty, and could they requite it with ingratitude? Such was the generous disinterested feeling with which the chiefs embarked in this desperate undertaking, and not from overweening confidence in their own valour, or hope of the rewards of conquest. They saw nothing before them but death on the field or the scaffold; and although their first successes tended to remove these gloomy forebodings, they returned in full strength with the retreat from Derby, and were confirmed upon the field of Culloden.

In all these fears Lochiel fully participated. As soon, therefore, as he heard of the Prince's arrival, he sent his brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron, to warn him of the consequences of the enterprise. This the doctor did faithfully and earnestly; he even told the Prince that his brother could not and would not join him under such circumstances. But he spoke to the son of a doomed race, whom no warnings could enlighten, nor aid restore to their forfeited throne. Still, however, Charles felt that without the co-operation of Lochiel it was useless to advance, and he therefore sent Macdonald the younger, of Scothouse, requesting a personal interview with the Cameron at Borodale. Perhaps he was aware of the marvellous power that accompanies the petitions of a prince. The chief complied with an invitation which he could not well refuse, but he set out with a firm resolution to have nothing to do with the Prince's undertaking. This he expressed to his brother, John Cameron, of Fassefern, upon whom he called on his way. As soon as Fassefern learned that Charles had arrived without money, arms, or troops, he approved of his brother's purpose not to join the expedition, but advised him to communicate this by letter; but when Lochiel persisted in continuing his journey to Borodale, as the best opportunity for justifying his refusal, Fassefern replied, "Brother, I know you better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."

In the interview that followed between the Prince and his chivalrous adherent, this prediction was too well verified. The latter stated, that as his royal highness had come without the promised supplies in men and money, the Highland chiefs were released from their engagements; and he advised Charles to return to France, and await a more favourable opportunity. To this the Prince replied, that no such opportunity as the present might again occur—that most of the British troops were abroad, and the few newly-raised regiments at home would be unable to withstand the army of Highlanders that could be brought into the field—and that a few advantages at the outset would insure him effectual assistance both at home and from abroad. Unpersuaded by these arguments, which were more showy than solid, Lochiel advised a middle course: this was, that the Prince should dismiss his attendants, and his ship the *Doutelle*, back to France, so that it might be thought that himself had returned with them; and

that, in the meantime, his highness might remain concealed in the Highlands, where he would guarantee his full safety until the court of France could send over an armament to their aid. This, however, Charles rejected, declaring that the court of France would never believe he had a party in Scotland until an insurrection had actually commenced. Thus driven from every point of dissuasion, Lochiel had recourse to his last inducement, by entreating that his highness would remain at Borodale until the Highland chiefs could be assembled, when they might deliberate in concert what was best to be done in the present state of affairs; but this prudent proposal Charles also indignantly refused. "In a few days," he exclaimed, "and with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors—to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Lochiel, whom my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and from the newspapers learn the fate of his prince." This taunt, which touched so keenly the honour of the high-minded chief, decided him at once, and he cried, "No! I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power!" In this way "the gentle Lochiel" was overthrown and taken captive by what many will reckon a mere punctilio. In his case, too, it was the more to be regretted, as not only his own fate and that of his clan were at stake, but the introduction of a civil war which, but for his influence and example, would either not have happened, or have begun and terminated in a petty skirmish.

Having gained over a chief so powerful and influential, the Pretender thought that he might proceed at once to action, and accordingly he announced his purpose to raise the royal standard on the 19th of August at Glenfinnan, where all his Highland adherents were warned to be in readiness. In the meantime, Lochiel went home to muster his clan for the gathering. When the period had arrived, Charles, who had now been three weeks in the Highlands without the secret being divulged, embarked from Kinlochmoidart, with twenty-five attendants in three boats, and reached Glenfinnan on the morning of the rendezvous. And dreary was the prospect that welcomed him to his expected kingdom; for he found himself in a dark narrow glen, bounded on both sides by high rocky mountains; and instead of the gallant muster of impatient clans by whom he hoped his coming would be greeted, there were no persons but the inhabitants of the few wretched hovels sprinkled at wide intervals along the glen, who stood at their doors, or among the distant precipices, to gaze at the arrival of the strangers. Dispirited at this appearance of remissness on the part of his friends, Charles retired to one of these hovels, where after two anxious hours of suspense, his ears were gladdened by the sound of a distant bagpipe. It was the clan Cameron hastening to the trysting-place, with Lochiel at their head. They were from seven to eight hundred strong, while in point of arms, discipline, and equipments, they formed the *élite* of that rebel army by which such singular successes were obtained both in Scotland and England. The Camerons also did not come to the meeting empty-handed, for they brought with them, as prisoners, a party of the royalist soldiers, who had been surprised in the neighbourhood of Loch Lochie. On the arrival of Lochiel and his followers, Charles, without waiting for the rest of the clans, proclaimed war in due form against the "Elector of Hanover," raised his silk banner of white, blue, and red, and proclaimed his father sovereign of the British empire. After this ceremony new volunteers arrived, by which the Prince soon found himself at the head of a little army of

twelve hundred men. With such an army, where nearly one-half were very imperfectly armed, and with only one guinea in his pocket when he reached the fair city of Perth, the young Chevalier commenced his daring march for the overthrow of three kingdoms. It has often been reckoned one of the maddest freaks in military history—but how would it have been characterized had it succeeded, which it almost did? The wonderful successes of Montrose, with means as inadequate, were not yet forgotten in the Highlands.

The rest of the career of Lochiel is so closely connected with the events of the campaign of 1745, that a full detail of them would necessarily include a narrative of the whole rebellion. We can, therefore, only specify a few particulars. The town of Perth, which fell into the hands of the insurgents after they commenced their descent into the Lowlands, was taken by a party of the Camerons. On crossing the Forth, the great difficulty was to restrain the Highlanders from plundering, as they committed much havoc among the sheep, which they hunted and shot as if they had been hares, and cooked in their own rude fashion. A summary act of justice, executed by Lochiel upon one of these marauders, is thus described by Dugald Graham, the Homer of this eventful rebellion:—

This did enrage the Cameron's chief,
To see his men so play the thief;
And finding one into the act,
He fired, and shot him through the back;
Then to the rest himself addressed:—
'This is your lot, I do protest,
Who'er amongst you wrongs a man;
Pay what you get, I tell you plain;
For yet we know not friend or foe,
Nor how all things may chance to go.'

It was a just and humane order, enforced by politic considerations, and as such, it must have greatly aided in procuring for the wild miscellaneous army that character for forbearance by which it was afterwards distinguished. On reaching Edinburgh, which had closed its gates, and refused to surrender, Charles, with the army of Sir John Cope at his heels, was anxious to place his wild followers within the walls of the ancient capital, but without the bloodshed of a storm, and the odium which such an event would occasion. This resolution, which was so congenial to the character of Lochiel, the gallant chief undertook to execute; and with a select detachment of nine hundred men he marched by night to the city gates, which, however, were too jealously watched to give him access. While he waited for an opportunity, a hackney coach, filled with deputies, that had been sent from the town-council to the Prince's headquarters, and were returning home by the Canongate, suddenly appeared. As soon as the gate opened to admit them, a party of Highlanders rushed in, disarmed the guards in a twinkling, and cleared the way for their fellows. In this way Edinburgh was captured without shedding a drop of blood, or even making so much noise as to disturb the sleep of its inhabitants. Lochiel again appears on the very foreground of Prestonpans, the victory of which was chiefly attributed to his clan, by whom the dragoons were routed, and the royalist foot left wholly uncovered. In charging cavalry, which was a new event in Highland warfare, he ordered his men to rush forward boldly, and strike at the noses of the horses with their broadswords, without caring about the riders; and the consequence was, that these formidable-looking cavaliers were chased off the

field by a single onset. In the unsuccessful expedition into England which followed this victory, the Camerons were always found at their post, while the conduct of their chief was distinguished throughout the advance and retreat by the same combination of prudence, courage, and clemency. Strangely enough, however, it happened that he, the "gentle Lochiel" was, on one occasion, mistaken for a cannibal or an ogre. In England fearful tales had been reported of the Highlanders, and among others, that they had claws instead of hands, and fed upon human flesh. On that account, one evening, when he entered the lodging that had been assigned to him, the poor landlady threw herself at his feet, and besought him, with uplifted hands and weeping eyes, to take her life, but spare her two children. Astonished at this, he asked her what she meant, when she told him, everybody had said that the Highlanders ate children as their common food. A few kind words sufficed to disabuse her; and opening the door of a press, she cried out with a voice of joy, "Come out, children, the gentleman wont eat you," upon which the two little prisoners emerged from their concealment, and fell at his feet.

At the winding up of this wild tragedy on Culloden Moor, Lochiel had his full share of disappointment and disaster. He was one of the advocates of a night surprise of the English army, and when the unsuccessful attempt was made, he was one of its principal leaders. In the battle that followed next day, the Camerons were described by eye-witnesses as advancing to the charge "with their bonnets pulled tightly over their brows, their bodies half-bent, their shields raised so as to cover the head and vital parts, and their broad-swords quivering in their nervous gripe: they sprung forward upon their foes like crouching tigers, their eyes gleaming with an expression fierce and terrific to the last degree." The whole front rank fell; and, in spite of their devoted efforts to protect their chief, Lochiel himself received several severe wounds in the legs, and was carried off the field. Such was the termination which his own prudence had apprehended from the beginning, without needing the predictions of "the death-boding seer," but to which he had committed himself from a mistaken sense of honour and of duty. After this defeat, by which all the adherents of the Pretender were scattered and hunted upon their native mountains, Lochiel, having skulked for two months in his own district, at last withdrew himself to the borders of Rannoch, where he took up his abode in a miserable hovel on the side of the mountain Benalder, to be cured of his wounds. Here, on the morning of the 30th of August (1746), he and his few attendants were startled by the unwelcome apparition of a party of men advancing to the dwelling; and thinking that they were enemies from the camp a few miles distant, who had tracked them to their hiding-place, they prepared to receive them with a volley of musketry. Their weapons were pointed for the occasion, and in another instant would have given fire, when Lochiel suddenly stopped them; he discovered that the strangers were no other than the Prince himself, Dr. Cameron his brother, and a few guides, who had heard in their wanderings of his whereabouts, and were coming to visit him! One moment more, and Charles might have lain stretched on the heath by the hand of the best and most devoted of his followers. On discovering who his visitor was, the chief, who was lamed in the ancles from his wounds, limped out to welcome him, and would have knelt upon the ground, when Charles prevented him with, "No, my dear Lochiel; we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions they will immediately conclude that I

am here." Seldom have prince and subject met under such circumstances of adversity. As the royal wanderer had long been a stranger to a comfortable meal, some minced collops were fried for him with butter in a large saucepan, to which the luxury of a silver spoon was added; and poor Charles, after partaking very heartily of these savoury viands, could not help exclaiming, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince!" Turning to Lochiel, he asked, "Have you always fared so well during your retreat?" "Yes, sir," replied the chief, "for nearly three months past I have been hereabout with my cousin Cluny; he has provided for me so well, that I have had plenty of such as you see, and I thank Heaven your royal highness has got through so many dangers to take a part."

Soon after this meeting, two vessels of war, despatched by the French government, arrived, and in these Charles and about a hundred of his adherents, of whom Lochiel was one, embarked at Lochnanuagh, on the 20th of September. Soon after his arrival in France, Lochiel received the command of a regiment in the French service, to which the young Chevalier wished a title of British nobility to be added; but this the Prince's father refused, observing very justly, that it would create envy in the other Highland chiefs who might expect a similar distinction; and that Lochiel's interest and reputation in his own country, and his being at the head of a regiment in France, would give him more consideration there than any empty title he could bestow. By this time, however, the mere question of a coronet was of little importance to the brave and good Lochiel, for he died in his place of exile in 1748. At his death, he left two sons, of whom John, the eldest, succeeded to his father's regiment, but died in early life. Charles, the younger, who succeeded to the family claims of his brother, obtained leases from the British Crown of parts of the family estate upon very easy terms, and received a commission in the 71st Highlanders, to which regiment he added a company of clansmen of his own raising. On the regiment being ordered for foreign service, his Camerons refused to embark without him, upon which, though he was dangerously ill in London, he hurried down to Glasgow to appease them, but found that this had been successfully done by Colonel Fraser of Lovat, the commander of the regiment. This violent exertion, however, was too much for his exhausted strength, so that he died soon afterwards. Nothing, it is said, could exceed the enthusiasm with which the arrival of Charles Cameron was welcomed by the citizens of Glasgow, for it was their conviction that it was his father who had prevented their city from being plundered by the rebel army in 1745.

Another member of the Lochiel family still remains to be mentioned; this was Dr. Archibald Cameron, whose name has already occurred more than once in the course of this notice. After having endured his share of the hardships which befell the rebel army, and aided the Prince in his wanderings among the Highlands, he was one of those who embarked at Lochnanuagh, and reached France in safety. Some doubtful causes, however, not sufficiently explained, but which seem to have been altogether unconnected with politics, induced him to return to Scotland privately in 1749, and subsequently in 1753; but at his last visit he was apprehended, tried at London, and sentenced to be hanged at Tyburn, as one of the attainted persons who had been "out" in 1745. He was the last victim of the fears or the vengeance of government; and many even of its best friends thought that after so long an interval, and on account of his well-known amiable character, his life ought to have been spared.

CAMPBELL, SIR ARCHIBALD, Bart., G.C.B., &c., was a son of Archibald Campbell, lieutenant in the army, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Captain James Small. Having taken up the military profession like a family inheritance, Archibald entered the army in 1787, with the rank of ensign, in consequence of having raised twenty recruits for the service. Early in the following year he embarked with his regiment, the 77th, for India, and was employed in active service in the successful campaign against Tippoo Sultaun, and upon the coast of Malabar in 1790. In the following year he rose to the rank of lieutenant and adjutant, and served in the campaigns of the Mysore, and the first siege of Seringapatam. In 1795, he accompanied his regiment in the reduction of the Dutch garrison of Cochin and its dependencies on the coast of Malabar; and in 1796 he was employed in the successful enterprise that reduced the island of Ceylon. After various changes connected with these leading events in our Indian warfare, he served as major of brigade to the European brigade of the Bombay army in 1799, and was present at the battle of Sedueer, and the capture of Seringapatam. Having procured during this year, by purchase, the rank of captain in the 67th regiment, he exchanged into the 88th, that he might continue upon foreign service, as the last-mentioned corps had just arrived in India; but he was disappointed in his purpose by ill health, which compelled him, in 1801, to return home.

After having been employed in England chiefly in the recruiting service, and upon the staff of the southern district as major of brigade, he was subsequently appointed major in the 6th battalion of reserve, and was stationed in Guernsey till 1805, when he joined the 71st regiment, with which he continued in Scotland and Ireland until 1808: he then joined the 1st battalion on its embarkation for Portugal. Here Major Campbell saw service such as he had not witnessed in India, having been present in the battles of Rolica and Vimeira, as well as in the disastrous campaign in Spain under Sir John Moore, and the battle of Corunna. In February, 1809, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and appointed to assist Marshal Beresford in organizing and disciplining the Portuguese army. This was a service in which Colonel Campbell was associated with some of the best officers of the British army, and the value of their endeavours was well attested in the high state of efficiency to which the Portuguese soldiers were brought, and the important aid they rendered during the Peninsular war. In this auxiliary army Campbell rose to the rank of full colonel, and in 1811 to that of brigadier-general, and was present at the battles of Busaco, Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, and the Nive, and several sieges, especially that of Badajos. After having thus passed through the brunt of the war in the peninsula and south of France, he was appointed to the rank of major-general by the Prince Regent of Portugal in 1813, and to the command of the Lisbon division of the Portuguese army in 1816. In this capacity he continued till 1820, when the revolution of Portugal restored him to the service of his own country. He had offered, as soon as the insurrectionary movement commenced, and during the absence of Marshal Beresford, to march with his division and quell the rising at Oporto; but in consequence of the refusal of the regency, he gave in his resignation and returned to England.

General Campbell, now a well-trying and war-worn veteran, might, like many of his brethren of the Peninsular campaigns, have fought over his Indian and European battles at a peaceful fireside at home, and "showed how fields were

won" to the rising generation whom their country was about to summon into action. But the best and most important part of his military career was still to come, and in India, where he had first learned the profession of arms. Not long after his return to England, he joined the 38th regiment, of which he was appointed colonel, at the Cape, and proceeded with it to India, whither it had been ordered. On arriving in India, he was stationed at Berhampore, but was soon appointed by Sir E. Paget to take the command of the expedition fitted out against the Burmese. Of all the many nations of India, these people were reckoned among the bravest and most formidable; and their valour had already been shown in several severe repulses which they had given to the British troops, with whom they had but lately come in contact. The great aim of the expedition which General Campbell commanded was to take possession of Rangoon, the chief seaport of Burmah; and for this quarter he accordingly set sail, and anchored within the bar off the town on the 10th of May, 1823. The landing and capture of Rangoon were effected in twenty minutes with scarcely any resistance. A defensive war of stockades on the part of the Burmese followed, which they maintained with much spirit, and occasionally with success, until the close of the year, when they were emboldened to abandon their guerilla warfare, for which their country was highly favourable, for the precarious chances of a battle. They accordingly assembled a large army of between fifty and sixty thousand strong, with three hundred pieces of cannon, and came down upon the British, who did not exceed six thousand. This was what Campbell desired; the enemy were now before him in a fair field, instead of being intrenched behind stockades, or in the jungle, where they could not be reached except at great disadvantage. He saw at once that their wings were too far asunder, and he resolved to encounter them separately, and in quick succession. His plan was effectual; the enemy, thus attacked, were defeated in detail, and so completely, that they fled in wild disorder, leaving behind them their artillery, and throwing away their muskets. On the following day this crowd of fugitives was rallied, and incorporated with a new Burmese army that advanced to the scene of action; but Campbell attacked and defeated them in a second encounter that was as successful as the first. In these two engagements, the Burmese sustained a loss of more than five thousand men, while that of the British was only thirty killed and two hundred and thirty wounded. Undismayed, however, by such disasters, the enemy rallied for a third attempt, and this time were intrenched to the number of twenty thousand behind a strong stockade. Here they were attacked by General Campbell, and routed with such slaughter, that the war, for the time at least, was terminated by the submission of Burmah and the occupation of Rangoon. Few of our Indian campaigns were more glorious, if we take into account the obstacles which Campbell had to overcome, the smallness of his force as compared with that of the enemy, and the three decisive victories which he gained in such rapid succession. A full sense of his merit was manifested both in India and at home, by the thanks of the governor-general in council and the two houses of the British Parliament, while the Court of East India Directors voted him a gold medal and a pension of £1000 per annum for life, as the reward of his important services.

At the close of the Burmese war, General Campbell was appointed commander of the forces in the provinces on the coast of Tenasserim, which the enemy had ceded, and civil commissioner in the company's affairs in relation to the kingdoms of Burmah and Siam. But the fatigues of the campaign had

so permanently affected his health, that he was compelled to resign his command, and return to England in 1829. In the spring of 1831 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and in this province he continued nearly six years, and conducted the administration of its affairs not only to the satisfaction of the home government, but that of the colonists. In 1839 he was offered the appointment of commander-in-chief in Bombay, which he accepted, such an office being, of all others, the most congenial to his wishes; but almost immediately after, a fresh attack of ill health obliged him to resign it. After a few years of retirement from active life, which the increasing infirmities of old age rendered necessary, he died at Edinburgh, on the 6th of October, 1843.

The value of Sir Archibald Campbell's military services, and especially those in India, our late troubles with the Burmese, and the still unsettled condition of that people, have taught us every year more highly to appreciate. It is gratifying, however, to think that, while he lived, he did not find either his country or the public ungrateful. Besides his merited rise in the service, which went steadily onward, he was invested with the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword in 1813; knighted by the Prince Regent, and appointed aide-de-camp to his Royal Highness in 1814; appointed a knight commander of the Bath in 1815, and K. C. B. in 1827; and in 1831 created a baronet of the United Kingdom. He was also at various times presented with the freedom of the cities of Perth, Strabane, and Cork. Sir Archibald Campbell married Miss Helen Macdonald of Garth, Perthshire, by whom he had two sons and three daughters.

CAMPBELL, REV. JOHN.—This active missionary and enterprising traveller, whose many labours procured for him a high estimation in the Christian world, was born at Edinburgh in 1766. He was the youngest of three sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father when only two years old, and his mother four years afterwards. Being placed under the guardianship of Mr. Bowers, his uncle, a pious elder or deacon of the Relief Church, John was educated at the High School of Edinburgh, then under the rectorship of Dr. Adams; but although his proficiency as a scholar was such as enabled him to escape unnoticed, he never in after life manifested any particular acquaintanceship with Latin and Greek. His restless temperament and enterprising spirit were more inclined to action than study, and might have led him headlong into evil, had they not been kept in check by the wholesome restraints and religious education established in his uncle's household. On finishing his education at the High School, he was apprenticed to a goldsmith and jeweller in Edinburgh. Although, at this early period, he was deprived of the religious instructions he had hitherto enjoyed, in consequence of the death of his uncle, the loss was in some measure supplied by diligent reading and anxious reflection, combined with the intercourse of pious acquaintances, whose benevolence was awakened by his orphan condition. One of these he thus describes:—"Perhaps you will be surprised to hear that he was a gauger (or excise officer), an employment as much despised in those days, in the north, as that of the publicans or tax-gatherers by the Jews in the days of our Lord. When his piety became generally known in the town where he lived, he had the honour of being distinguished by the appellation of 'the praying gauger.' In reference to his being a man of prayer, perhaps you will be startled at a remark I heard made by one of his most intimate and oldest acquaintances—that he believed Duncan Clark (for that was his name) had not for the last

forty years slept two hours without engaging in prayer.' The conduct of this remarkable man towards the young inquirer, was in keeping with his character. He was the first person," Campbell adds, "to whom I opened my case, when I was greatly alarmed about the state of my soul before God. I wrote to him a very simple letter, which he first showed to some of his intimates, for their opinion, and then wrote a cautious brief answer, which he did not send off by post, but actually brought himself, and delivered into my hands in Edinburgh. He explained his doing so by telling me that he had been at Dunfermline sacrament, to which place he carried it; and while there, he thought that, being within fifteen miles of Edinburgh, he would just walk to it, and have a little conversation, as well as deliver the letter. He had walked more than twenty miles to the sacrament. He walked thus to save his money for the poor." It was no wonder that, under the conversation of such men, the subject of religion to the mind of Campbell appeared of paramount importance. It was equally to be expected, from his natural disposition, that having attained such views, he should be impatient to realize them by action. He became a visitor of the sick and dying poor, to whom he imparted the consolations of religion, as well as of the ignorant and the dissolute, whom he was anxious to enlighten and convert. In this way he became a city missionary among the murky lanes and closes of Edinburgh, at a time when such an office was most needed, and, as yet, little thought of.

Mr. Campbell had now commenced that evangelistic public life which was to know neither rest nor interval; and while engaged in the shop of a hardware merchant, an occupation to which he had betaken himself, he was to become a correspondent of the principal characters of the religious world, and be connected with those great public enterprises in which they were the chief movers. But to a life of such varied action, notwithstanding its heroic disinterestedness and important results, we can only devote a very brief enumeration.

One of the earliest of these labours was the establishment of Sabbath-schools. At a time when domestic religious instruction was prevalent in Scotland, their introduction, instead of being a benefit, would have been a mischievous intrusion. But now that this patriarchal style of life was fast passing into a new state, and that the present was a transition period, which is generally a period fraught with danger, the old system of religious tuition was woefully in abeyance, while nothing as yet had been brought forward to supplement the deficiency. Sabbath-schools, indeed, had even already been introduced into the country; but they were not only insignificant in point of number, but regarded as a dangerous novelty—nay, even regarded as a libel upon our covenanting and well-educated Scotland, whose religious character now stood so high among the nations of Christendom. And yet, all the while, there were thousands, nay, myriads of children for whom no one cared, and who were growing up in ignorance and profligacy, while every year was increasing the evil. Scotland, as is too often the case, was contentedly reposing upon her past character and achievements, and therefore blind to the present emergency. To this educational plan, therefore, so ungracious, and yet so needful, John Campbell directed his efforts. He opened a large Sabbath-school in the old Archers' Hall; and finding it succeed, he opened another in the hall of the Edinburgh Dispensary. Encouraged by the benefits that attended this bold experiment upon the capital, and by the Countess of Leven, and several of our Scottish aristocracy, whose religious patriotism was awake to the true interests of their country, he now

turned his attention to the rural districts, and opened a school at the village of Loanhead, a few miles distant from Edinburgh. Here he took his station exclusively as teacher, and so effectually, that he soon had 200 pupils. His zealous missionary labours in these and similar undertakings, introduced him to the Haldanes, men of congenial spirit, who were eager to second his efforts; and accordingly, in company with Captain James Haldane, the younger brother, he set off on a tour through the west of Scotland, partly for the distribution of tracts, but mainly for the establishment of Sabbath-schools. With this view they visited Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock; and although the trip occupied only a single week, the formation of sixty schools was the result within three months afterwards. A system of religious education was thus prosperously commenced that was soon to overspread the country, and which, we trust, will continue, until society, still better christianized than it is at present, will revert to the good old plan of having the Sunday-school at home, with the head of the house as its zealous affectionate teacher.

From Sabbath-school teaching to preaching was but a step, upon which Mr. Campbell next ventured; it was a change from growing to grown children, where the latter were to the full as unintelligent as the former, but with still greater need of the coercions of religion, while the kind of instruction which had been found so available with the one might be equally so with the other. He commenced in the first instance with Gilmerton, a village in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, chiefly inhabited by colliers, the despised Pariahs of British society; and having opened a preaching station for Sabbath evening service, he was aided in his labours by students of divinity and lay-preachers; and especially by Rate, Aikman, and the Haldanes, the fathers of Scottish Independency. Encouraged by the success of this trial upon Gilmerton, Messrs. Campbell, Rate, and James Haldane resolved to attempt an itinerancy of lay-preaching over the whole of Scotland north of Edinburgh. It was a novel experiment, for, except the brief visits of Whitefield to Scotland, the practice of preaching in the open air had been discontinued there since the happy accession of William and Mary to the throne. In every town and village to which they came, they announced their purpose and the place of muster, and there the crowds who assembled were roused anew with proclamations of those evangelical doctrines to which very few pulpits of the day were wont to give utterance. This, indeed, was a sufficiently humble mode of preaching; but it was apostolic withal, and suited to the wants of the times; and one of the best fruits of this lay and out-of-door preaching was, that in the present day it is needed no longer. After he had toiled in the work until he broke down from sheer exhaustion, and resumed it as soon as his health had recovered, Campbell saw with satisfaction this field successfully occupied by the Haldanes, and those whom they had trained to an itinerant ministry.

Hitherto it had been the reproach of Protestantism, that it was not a missionary church. The Reformed communities, instead of preaching the gospel to all nations, had selfishly confined it to themselves; and while Papists were alert in traversing every land, and braving every danger to make converts, they were wont to allege, and with a show of justice, that the opposite church could not be a genuine Christian one, as it had so shamefully neglected this most important commission with which it had been intrusted by our blessed Lord at his departure. Now, however, the reproach was to be rolled away; and one of the first fruits of this awakened sense of duty was the formation of the London

Missionary Society, composed of Christians of all denominations, for a great united aggression upon the heathenism of the world. It was the raising of a banner, and sounding of a trumpet-blast, under which every Christian community in Britain was electrified. Similar institutions in connection with the parent branch began rapidly to be established in various cities; and among these, one of the first was in Edinburgh, of which Mr. Campbell was a director. In this way, while, to use the language of one of his biographers, "soldiers and sailors wrote to him for advice; the needy and greedy for money; the reclaimed outcasts for prayer and counsel; dark villages for itinerants; and chapel-builders for help;" and all this while undergoing the weekly cares and toils of a tradesman in the Bow, and those of a village lay-preacher at Gilmerton on the Sabbath, he had the complicated concerns of a new missionary society super-added to his manifold occupations. Zeal, activity, sagacity, business-habits, prudence, persuasiveness, were all in requisition for the discharge of so many duties: and all these qualities he brought so fully to the task, as to show that he was now in his congenial element. The condition of Africa employed his attention with reference to the establishment of a mission at Sierra Leone; but the unhealthiness of the climate along the coast, and the "terrible unknown" of the interior, equally seemed to bid defiance to the enterprise. In this trying dilemma, an expedient suggested itself to his mind as sufficient to obviate every difficulty; it was, to obtain from the British settlement there a number of native children of both sexes, and after educating them in Britain, to send them back as missionaries to their kindred and countrymen. The next step was to procure funds for such a costly but hopeful undertaking, and these were volunteered to be supplied by Mr. Robert Haldane, who saw at once the soundness of the scheme. Twenty-four children were accordingly brought from Africa to London, and nothing remained but to forward them to Edinburgh, to be trained under the superintendence of those who had originated the plan. But here difficulties arose at the outset with which Mr. Campbell had nothing to do, and the children were educated in London. Still he had taught the way by which Africa was to be opened up, and its hitherto inaccessible regions evangelized; and every succeeding year has justified the sagacity with which the expedient was devised, by the happy results that have already crowned it. It is upon native missions, perhaps, that we must ultimately rely for the Christianization both of India and Africa.

At an early period of life, Mr. Campbell's wishes had been directed to the ministry, but as circumstances had been such as to prevent their realization, he had hitherto acted in his private capacity, and as a lay-preacher. Having been so successful in the latter vocation, he now thought it his duty to devote himself wholly to the ministerial work. He could now also accomplish this with greater facility, as the Theological Hall which the Independents had lately established, required a shorter course of study than that prescribed by the regular colleges. This step also corresponded more fully with his views of church government, which accorded with Independency. He therefore repaired to Glasgow, and prosecuted his studies for the purpose under the Rev. Greville Ewing, who was at the head of the seminary. Here, also, he occasionally joined Mr. Haldane in his itinerant preaching tours; and on one occasion, in 1802, he carried his labours through a considerable part of England, and officiated during part of the summer, at Kingsland Chapel, London. For two years after, Mr. Campbell itinerated through various parts of Scotland, and the northern counties of

England, when, in 1804, he received a regular call from the congregation of Kingsland Chapel, by whom his former labours had been greatly esteemed, to become their minister. He complied, and entered immediately with full ardour upon the sacred duties of his new office. Although now minister of a London chapel, the situation was by no means one either of distinction or emolument. On the contrary, the congregation were so poor, and his salary therefore so scanty, that he was obliged to open a day school in Kingsland, in addition to his clerical duties. He was also editor of the "Youth's Magazine," a small religious periodical, which he commenced and superintended through the first ten volumes.

The remarkable activity of Mr. Campbell, and the energy with which he entered into the operations of the various religious societies with which he was engaged, besides discharging the offices of minister, schoolmaster, editor, and itinerant preacher, soon brought him into notice in London, and suggested to the London Missionary Society the idea of employing him in an enterprise of the utmost importance. This was, a tour of exploration through Caffraria, for the purpose of examining the state of the Hottentot and Caffre missions, now left helpless by the death of the lamented Dr. Vanderkemp. It was a commission fraught not only with difficulty but peril, but Campbell cheerfully undertook it. He was solemnly set apart for this purpose in Miles' Lane Chapel, the venerable Dr. Waugh presiding on that occasion. And who that has but once seen and heard that Scot of Scots, can either forget his noble, stately, stalwart form and bearing, or his Doric but thrilling and persuasive eloquence? At the close of his address he thus bade farewell to Mr. Campbell:—"Could I place the prophet Isaiah at the base of one of the lofty mountains in Africa, which you, my brother, are about to visit; and if, whilst gazing on its varied scenery, an earthquake were to rock it upon its deep foundations, until, like the Numidian lion shaking the dew-drops of the land of Ham from his mane in the morning, it threw off from its hoary and heaving sides the forests, and flocks, and hamlets of huts, and cliffs crowned with lichens and lign aloes; and were a whirlwind to rush in at that moment, scattering the broken and falling masses in mid air, as if playing with the sand-clouds and columns of the desert; still the voice of the prophet, could it be heard amidst the convulsive war of elements, would exclaim, 'Though the everlasting mountains bow, and the perpetual hills be scattered, yet will I rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of my salvation!' Go, my brother, and do thou the same, whatever dangers you may meet in Africa. As God was with Vanderkemp, so will he be with thee, Campbell."

Charged with this important commission, the minister of Kingsland Chapel left London on the 24th of June, 1812. Already he had confronted the fierce waves that girdle the Orkneys, and traversed its little islands to proclaim the gospel; but now he was to "brave the stormy spirit of the Cape," and explore its vast interior, upon a similar errand. His progress in South Africa fully justified the choice that had been made of him, for while no minister or missionary could have been more zealous, active, and efficient in the special duties of his calling among the Christian stations which he visited, he added to these the qualifications of an intrepid, diligent, and enterprising traveller, alive to the interests of general knowledge and science, and sharply observant of every object in his way. Three thousand miles were traversed by him in a country as yet but little known to the British public, and after an absence of nearly two years, he returned to England in May, 1814. He was not yet done, however, with

South Africa, for in little more than four years, his services as a traveller, which already had been so useful, were again in requisition. A second journey over the same country was the consequence, which occupied two years and a-half, and he returned to London in 1821, just in time for the missionary May meetings, which he gratified by the rich fund of intelligence which he brought from the land of his adventurous pilgrimage. Altogether, his published account of these two journeys not only threw much light upon the interior of South Africa, but brought into full view whole towns and tribes whose existence had as yet been unknown in Europe. It was indeed a valuable addition to that portion of the map which had hitherto been little more than a blank, or a few conjectural lines. In consequence of these services, the London Missionary Society were anxious that he should resume his pilgrim's staff, and make a similar exploration of the stations they had established in the Polynesian Islands. But this application he respectfully declined. After his second return from Africa, in consequence of the death of his aunt, and marriage of his niece, who had hitherto been his housekeepers, he took to himself a partner of his home, and resumed his ministerial duties at Kingsland Chapel.

The rest of the life of Mr. Campbell, which was chiefly spent in London, was marked by the same earnest diligence and usefulness which had hitherto characterized it. Decidedly a man of action, his hours, his very minutes, were all turned to good account, while his cheerful lively humour continued to animate him to the last. His piety, his vigorous sound sense, his fluency as a speaker, and his jokes, always made him a favourite upon a London religious platform; and as soon as his little compact figure, dark complexion, and cheerful look, were presented to address them, the whole meeting brightened up with expectation, and hailed him with applauding welcome. Thus he continued unbent and unbroken until he had passed the boundary of threescore and ten, when he was attacked at the commencement of 1840 by his last illness. His end was one full of peace and hope, and the only disquietude he seemed to experience was from the thought, that in spite of all he had done, he had not done enough—he had not done what he *could*. A few hours before he died, the missionary spirit that had so essentially predominated during life was strongest within him, and in broken accents of prayer he exclaimed unconsciously, "Let it fly! let the gospel fly!" His death occurred on the 4th of April, 1840.

CAMPBELL, THOMAS.—This poet, so justly and poetically called the "Bard of Hope," was born at Glasgow on the 27th of July, 1777. Like many of his name, he could trace his descent through an illustrious ancestry, beginning with Iver of Kirnan, the son of Archibald, Lord of Lochawe, who was the contemporary of Robert Bruce. To these genealogies, however, our poet was indifferent, being contented to be known as the son of Alexander Campbell, merchant, Glasgow, and one of a family of eleven children. The poet was especially fortunate in the intellectual character of his parentage, his father being the intimate friend of Reid, author of the "Inquiry into the Human Mind," while his mother was distinguished by her love of general literature, combined with sound understanding and a refined taste. Dull, indeed, would that mind naturally be, that could be nursed up under such guardianship to nothing better than mediocrity. Even at the early age of ten, Thomas Campbell had irrevocably become a poet, and such of his productions, composed at that season, as have been preserved, exhibit the delicate appreciation of the graceful flow and music of language for which his poetry was afterwards so highly distinguished.

He entered the college of Glasgow in 1791, already a ripe scholar in Latin and Greek—an unwonted circumstance among the young students of our northern universities; and there he had the high privilege of studying under Richardson, the talented and elegant professor of Humanity, and Young, one of the most enthusiastic Grecians and accomplished scholars of the day. The example of the latter was not lost upon the congenial mind of his pupil; and the poetical translations which Thomas Campbell produced at this period, as class exercises, from the "Medea of Euripides," as well as other Greek poets, shewed not only his mastery of the language in which they wrote, but the power he already possessed over his own. Many who are alive can still remember the pleasure with which Professor Young, in his college prelections, was wont to advert to these translations, and the pupil by whom they had been produced. Even in original poetry, also, Campbell was at this period distinguished above all his class-fellows, so that, in 1793, his "Poem on Description" obtained the prize in the Logic Class, although it was composed four years previous, and when he had not passed the age of twelve. Besides being distinguished as a poet and scholar at college, he was also well-known as a wit and satirist, and his lampoons were as much dreaded as his lyrics were admired; while his *scots* were so plentiful, that the usual morning question of the students was, "What has Tom Campbell been saying?" Being of a slim delicate make, and fond of a place near the class-room fire before the professor had entered, but finding it generally surrounded by a phalanx of Irish students, through which he could not break, he used often to disperse it, by causing their attention to be directed to some new roguish effusion he had written on the wall, which was certain to send them all scampering to the place of inscription. On one of these occasions, hearing that he had just written a libel against their country, they rushed away from the blazing grate in fervent wrath to the pencilled spot on the wall, and read, not in rage, but with roars of good-humoured laughter:—

"Vos, Hiberni, collocatis,
Sammum bonum in—potatoes!"

The great choice of life, whether as to occupation or principles, is often determined by some incident so minute as to escape notice. And such was the case with Thomas Campbell. In common with most youthful minds, before their classical impressions have come in contact with the stern realities of everyday life, his whole heart was with Greece and Rome, with Brutus and Cassius, with liberty and the enemies of oppression. With him, as with others, all this might have faded away like a dream of boyhood, but for an event that indelibly stamped these feelings upon his mind, and made them become the regulating principles of his after-life. It was now the season when the example of the French revolution was at its height, so that even the grave and solid intellect of Scotland became giddy for a moment in the whirl; and the trials of Muir, Palmer, Gerald, and others, shewed how narrowly our country had escaped the establishment of a convention modelled upon that of France. While these trials were going on, the young poet felt an impatient longing to visit Edinburgh, and witness the proceedings; to which his affectionate mother assented. He was to travel to the metropolis and return on foot, a journey of eighty-four miles; and to defray the expenses of such a pilgrimage, he thought himself richly furnished by the sum of 5*s.*, which she gave him for the purpose. He reached Edinburgh with a light foot and buoyant heart, and repaired to the Parliament House, where the trial of Gerald was going on; and it was easy for an imagination

such as his to convert the eloquent and impassioned culprit at the bar into a patriot of the old heroic ages, pleading less for his own life than the liberties of his country. "Gentlemen of the jury," said Gerald, at the close of his appeal, "now that I have to take leave of you for ever, let me remind you that mercy is no small part of the duty of jurymen; that the man who shuts his heart on the claims of the unfortunate, on him the gates of mercy will be shut; and for him the Saviour of the world shall have died in vain." Campbell was deeply impressed by these thrilling words, and the universal unbreathing silence of the multitude that listened; and his emotion at last found vent in the exclamation, "By heavens, sir, that is a great man!" "Ay, sir," replied the man beside him, apparently a decent tradesman, to whom the remark was addressed, "he is not only a great man himself, but he makes every other man great who listens to him." Campbell returned to Glasgow, a sadder at least, if not a wiser man, and, to the astonishment of his companions, his jokes and flashes of merriment were now laid aside. He had imbibed those impressions in behalf of freedom, and that hatred of oppression which burst forth so indignantly in the "Pleasures of Hope"—that ran like an electric gleam through the whole extent of his subsequent productions—and that finally, at his opened grave, called forth the tears of unhappy Poland, represented by the weeping group of her children who stood over it. He was now, and ever after, to be the post of Liberty.

When Campbell reached the age of twenty, he had completed five sessions at the university of Glasgow, during the greater part of which period he had been obliged, through the mercantile losses of his father, to contribute to his own support by giving lessons in Latin and Greek as a private tutor. Long before this period he had endeavoured to make choice of a profession, but had been unable to settle upon any result: law, medicine, merchandise, the church, had successively presented themselves, and been each in turn abandoned. Even already, however, the idea of literature as a profession had occurred to him; and he was now in Edinburgh negotiating with the publishers of the day, and supporting himself, in the meantime, by the drudgery of private tuition, until some path could be struck out by his own talents, or some offer made to him by an Edinburgh bookseller. But even now, also, he was employed upon the "Pleasures of Hope," and forming those beautiful episodes of the work which became all the brighter and more attractive in consequence of the darkness by which their author was beset. Such, at this period, was the condition of the young aspirant for literary and poetical fame. If to this, the following sketch of him, by a lady, be added, the picture will be complete:—"Mr. Campbell's appearance bespoke instant favour; his countenance was beautiful, and as the expression of his face varied with his various feelings, it became quite a study for a painter to catch the fleeting graces as they rapidly succeeded each other. The pensive air which hung so gracefully over his youthful features gave a melancholy interest to his manner, which was extremely touching. But when he indulged in any lively sallies of humour, he was exceedingly amusing; every now and then, however, he seemed to check himself, as if the effort to be gay was too much for his sadder thoughts, which evidently prevailed." "And now," he says of himself, "I lived in the Scottish metropolis by instructing pupils in Greek and Latin. In this vocation I made a comfortable livelihood as long as I was industrious. But 'The Pleasures of Hope' came over me. I took long walks about Arthur's Seat, conning over my own (as I thought them) magnificent

lines; and as my 'Pleasures of Hope' got on, my pupils fell off." At last the work was finished and published, and the celebrity which it reached was sufficient to compensate the author for all his past anxieties. In fact, it took the public mind by storm; and while commendation in all its forms was exhausted in lauding it, the universal wonder was, that such a poem should have been produced by a youth not more than twenty-one years old. Several of the most distinguished of the Edinburgh literati had already been prepared to estimate its merits from quotations which they had heard from the manuscript. But with those who were not thus forewarned, the first sight of the work was irresistible. Among these was the learned and accomplished Dr. Gregory, who, in stepping into the shop of Mr. Mundell, the publisher, saw the volume, fresh from the press, lying on the counter. "Ah! what have we here?" he said, taking it up; "'The Pleasures of Hope!'" He looked between the uncut leaves, and was so struck with the beauty of a single passage that he could not desist until he had read half the work. "This is poetry," he enthusiastically exclaimed; and added, "Where is the author to be found? I will call upon him immediately." The promise of the professor was quickly fulfilled, and from that period he became one of Campbell's warmest friends and admirers.

Having thus established for himself a high reputation by his first attempt, and being still in the opening of life, Thomas Campbell was impatient to see the world, and resolved, for this purpose, to take a trip into some foreign country. The proceeds of his work had furnished him with the means, and therefore he had only to select the route of his pilgrimage. His choice settled upon Germany, already become famous in Scotland by its rising literature, and the works of Wieland, Schiller, and Goethe. He crossed over to Hamburg, where his fame had already preceded him, so that he received an enthusiastic welcome from the British residents of that mercantile city. He soon found, however, that he had stumbled unexpectedly upon the outposts of a great and momentous war, so that he was obliged to direct his course according to its movements. But such was the rapidity of the French armies, that even an unencumbered traveller could scarcely avoid them; and on his arriving at Ratisbon, war was raging round its suburbs, and, finally, the French within its gates. Thus Campbell found himself in a situation that falls to the lot of few poets; he was likely to be the witness, as well as the eulogist and recorder, of great military achievements. "It was a sudden transition," he thus writes to a friend, "from the beauties of an interesting journey to the horrors of war and confusion that prevailed at Ratisbon. The richest fields of Europe desolated by contending troops; peasants driven from their homes, to starve and beg in the streets; horses dying of hunger and men dying of their wounds, were the dreadful novelties at this time." From the ramparts close to the Scotch monastery, he also witnessed the conflict that gave to the French the possession of Ratisbon, and thus describes the spectacle in a letter to his brother: "Never shall time efface from my memory the recollection of that hour of astonishment and expended breath, when I stood, with the good monks of St. James, to overlook a charge of Klenau's cavalry upon the French under Grenier. We saw the fire given and returned, and heard distinctly the sound of the French *pas-de-charge* collecting the lines to attack in close column. After three hours, awaiting the issue of a severe action, a park of artillery was opened just beneath the walls of the monastery, and several drivers that were stationed there to

convey the wounded in spring-waggons were killed in our sight." In a subsequent account of the event, he adds :—" This formed the most important epoch in my life, in point of impressions ; but those impressions at seeing numbers of men strewn dead on the field, or, what was worse, seeing them in the act of dying, are so horrible to my memory that I study to banish them. At times, when I have been fevered and ill, I have awoke from nightmare dreams about these dreadful images."

Amidst these uncertainties produced by the war, the poet's rambles were brief and irregular. He returned to Hamburg, visiting Leipsic and a few other towns in his course northward, and finally settled for the winter at Altona. During his residence near the historic and picturesque banks of the Danube, he had composed, or revised for the press, fourteen poetical productions, of which, however, only four were ultimately published. His well-known delicacy, not to say fastidiousness of taste, will sufficiently account for this *reticence*. Altona was soon no safe residence, on account of Denmark's secret alliance with France ; and the appearance of the British fleet off the Sound, gave sudden warning to our traveller to provide for his safety. He therefore embarked in a small trading vessel bound for Leith ; but in consequence of a chase from a Danish privateer, Campbell was landed at Yarmouth, to which the vessel fled for shelter. A trip to London naturally followed ; and for the first time he visited the mighty metropolis, little guessing, as he paced along its apparently interminable streets, that he should afterwards see it expanded into twice its present amount. After a short stay in the capital, where his "Pleasures of Hope" was a passport to the best of London society, he directed his course homeward. Even yet the inconveniences of his visit to the seat of war had not ended. "Returning to Edinburgh by sea," he writes in his memoranda of 1801, "a lady, passenger by the same ship, who had read my poems, but was personally unacquainted with me, told me, to my utter astonishment, that I had been arrested in London for high treason, was confined to the Tower, and expected to be executed ! I was equally unconscious of having either deserved or incurred such a sentence." He found, however, on reaching Edinburgh, that this ridiculous report was no matter to be laughed at, for it was already buzzed through the streets of the northern capital, and had reached the ears of his anxious mother, who now resided in the city. It was a wild period of rumour and suspicion, and he found that the fact of his having messed with the French officers at Ratisbon during the armistice, been introduced to the gallant Moreau, and sailed as fellow-passenger with an Irishman of the name of Donovan, had been amplified into a plot concerted between himself, Moreau, and the Irish at Hamburg, to land a French army in Ireland. He waited upon Mr. Clerk, the sheriff of Edinburgh, to refute this report, and testify his loyalty at head-quarters ; but here he found, to his astonishment, that the sheriff believed in his guilt, and that a warrant was issued for his apprehension. This was intolerable, and Campbell could not help exclaiming, "Do I live to hear a sensible man like you, talking about a boy like me conspiring against the British empire?" He offered himself for a strict examination previous to being sent to prison, and the inquisition was held amidst an array of clerks ready to note down his answers. A box of letters and papers which he had left at Yarmouth to be forwarded to Edinburgh, but which had been seized at Leith, was at the same time brought forward, opened, and carefully examined. But the contents soon put all suspicion to the rout : nothing in the whole col-

lection could be found more treasonable than "Ye Mariners of England," which was already prepared for the press, with a few others of its afterwards distinguished brethren. "This comes of trusting a Hamburg spy!" cried the discomfited sheriff; for it seems that a rogue in Hamburg had been manufacturing for the credulity of his employers on this side of the water such treason as he could not find ready-made, and had treasured up Campbell's movements there as a fit groundwork for his ingenuity. The whole inquest ended in a hearty laugh and a bottle of wine.

On returning to Edinburgh, Campbell found that instant action was necessary. His father had died during his absence in Germany; his widowed mother, now old and frail, was in necessitous circumstances; and his three sisters were all invalids under the maternal roof. It was also such a period of scarcity and mercantile depression over the whole island, that the prices of the common necessities of life were nearly doubled, so that famine-riots, popularly called meal-mobs, became the order of the day among the lower classes. Urged by present emergencies, he betook himself, in the first instance, to the precarious resources of miscellaneous authorship, until something more permanent could be adopted. This latter opportunity seemed to occur from an invitation he received from Lord Minto to visit him in London; and on Campbell's repairing thither in 1802, he was employed by his lordship as private secretary, and afterwards as travelling companion to Scotland. During this temporary absence from Edinburgh, he had composed "Lochiel's Warning," and the "Battle of Hohenlinden." This, in the estimation of modern authorship, will appear to be very slow progress; but even in the most depressed period of his circumstances, his aim was to write for immortality, so that every expression was carefully considered, and every line touched and retouched, before it could satisfy that most severe of all critics—himself. Even that striking line—

"Coming events cast their shadows before,"

had cost him a whole week of study and anxiety. But who will say that the price of such a stanza was too high? Writing of the poet to a friend at this time, Telford, the celebrated engineer, asks, "Have you seen his 'Lochiel'?" He will surpass everything ancient or modern—your Pindars, your Drydens, and your Grays." A similar feeling, but in a more poetical fashion, was expressed of its merits by Mrs. Dugald Stewart, wife of the distinguished philosopher. When the poet read it to her in manuscript, she listened in deep silence, and when it was finished, she gravely rose, laid her hand upon his head, and said, "This will bear another wreath of laurel yet," after which she retired to her seat without uttering another word. "This," said Campbell, "made a stronger impression upon my mind than if she had spoken in a strain of the loftiest panegyric. It was one of the principal incidents in my life that gave me confidence in my own powers."

After having laboured for some time in fugitive articles for the newspapers, and the compilation of history for the booksellers of Edinburgh, by which he managed to secure a respectable temporary livelihood, Campbell once more repaired to London. A poet by choice, he was now a prose author from necessity, and the British metropolis he knew to be the best mart in which his literary commodities could find a ready sale. Here, then, he was employed fagging, as he informs us, for ten hours a-day, and purloining the opportunity for calls and recreation from the hours of sleep. At this time, also, he published the seventh edition of the "Pleasures of Hope," and several of his smaller pieces, in a quarto

volume, which brought him such a profitable return as to relieve him from all his pecuniary embarrassments, as well as his anxieties about the future. This happy deliverance he forthwith proceeded to signalize in a fitting manner, by selecting for himself a permanent home, and a partner to gladden it. He married one who had been the object of his youthful admiration nine years before, and had latterly become the object of his more matured affections. This was Matilda Sinclair, daughter of his mother's cousin, a gentleman who had formerly been a wealthy merchant and provost in Greenock, and was now a trader in London. The prudent father demurred at the thought of bestowing his daughter upon one who, kinsman though he was, and now of high reputation, was still nothing more than a poet. It was indeed a perilous venture; but the ardour of the young couple overpowered the old man's scruples, and wrung from him a reluctant assent. They were married on the 10th September, 1803. It was a poetical union, for Campbell's whole fortune at this time amounted to the sum of fifty pounds; but he had fifty thousand pleasures of hope in perspective, and was therefore rich in his own imagination. At length he became a father; and here we cannot refrain from quoting his own account of feelings, so common to every father, at the arrival of his first-born, but which Campbell, in a letter announcing the event, has described with such beauty and tenderness: "Our first interview was when he lay in his little crib, in the midst of white muslin and dainty lace, prepared by Matilda's hands long before the stranger's arrival. I verily believe, in spite of my partiality, that lovelier babe was never smiled upon by the light of heaven. He was breathing sweetly in his first sleep. I durst not waken him, but ventured to give him one kiss. He gave a faint murmur, and opened his little azure lights. . . . Oh, that I were sure he would live to the days when I could take him on my knee, and feel the strong plumpness of childhood waxing into vigorous youth! My poor boy! shall I have the ecstasy of teaching him thoughts, and knowledge, and reciprocity of love to me? It is bold to venture into futurity so far. At present, his lovely little face is a comfort to me; his lips breathe that fragrance which it is one of the loveliest kindnesses of nature that she has given to infants—a sweetness of smell more delightful than all the treasures of Arabia. What adorable beauties of God and nature's bounty we live in without knowing! How few have ever seemed to think an infant beautiful! But to me there seems to be a beauty in the earliest dawn of infancy, which is not inferior to the attractions of childhood—especially when they sleep. Their looks excite a more tender train of emotions. It is like the tremulous anxiety we feel for a candle new lighted, which we dread going out." Such was an event, which, though an important era in the life of every man, is especially so in that of a poet; and such is the description, which none but a poet, and that of the highest order, could have so embodied. To our thinking, the above quotation may take its place in the highest rank of Campbell's poetical productions.

A happiness like this was not to be enjoyed without a due mixture of life's cares and anxieties; and at this period, the income of the poet for the support of such a home and family, consisted of the proceeds of his daily literary toil, which was so severe as seriously to injure his health. He had not, indeed, that slap-dash facility of writing which characterizes most of those who follow literature as a profession; nor could he, when the hours of study had been ended, abandon the subject of his thoughts as lightly as the man of business can leave his shop or counting-house, when he shuts it up for the evening, and repairs

to the enjoyments of his fireside. Instead of this, the fastidious taste that abode with him through life, made him slow in the selection of ideas, as well as scrupulous in their expression; and thus, when the price of his labour was to be estimated by bulk, his toil was scarcely half-paid. One of his resources at this time, in addition to periodical literature, was an engagement in the "Star" newspaper, which produced him four guineas a-week. At this time, also, he was willing to endure expatriation for the advantages of a permanent living; so that, when a regency in the university of Wilna had become vacant, he sent his name to the Russian minister as a candidate. But here his sentiments in favour of liberty, and his sympathy for Poland, which he had expressed in the "Pleasures of Hope," intervened to damp the ardour of his application, which might otherwise have been successful. After having established himself in authorship as a profession, he removed from London to Sydenham, where he resided for the next seventeen years of his life; and it was here, during the first summer after his removal, that amidst many articles written for the "Philosophical Magazine" and the "Star," upon every uncongenial subject, agriculture not excepted, he published "Lord Ullin's Daughter," the "Soldier's Dream," the "Turkish Lady," and the "Battle of the Baltic." But for one so delicately organized both in mind and body as Campbell, the daily hard work which he had to encounter was so exhausting that his health gave way; and in his letters at this period, we find him labouring under fits of gloomy despondency, alternated by attacks of sickness. To add also to his cares, the sole support of his aged mother, and partially of his sisters, was still devolved upon him, so that he had to maintain two household establishments, the one at Sydenham, and the other at Edinburgh. But just at the time when it seemed inevitable that he must break down under the double pressure, relief was at hand. Some unknown but highly influential friend had interposed with royalty itself in his behalf, and the result was a pension of £200 per annum conferred by his Majesty upon the Bard of Hope. His application of this munificent boon was truly honourable to the poet's heart and memory; for, after reserving only a portion to himself, he allotted the remainder to the support of his mother and sisters.

Four years went onward at Sydenham under these improved circumstances, but still the necessity for continued exertion was little abated; for the pension, comfortable as it looked in the abstract, underwent such mutilation, through fees of office and taxation, that it reached him in the shape of £140, while out of this he paid an annuity of £70 to his mother. The comfort to be derived from it depended more upon its permanency than its specific bulk. He therefore continued his toil, amidst alternate fits of lassitude and sickness. His contributions to the "Star," which consisted chiefly of translations from foreign journals, occupied him four hours a-day, and the remainder of his time was filled up by a "History of the Reign of George III." in three volumes, for which he had contracted with an Edinburgh publisher before he left Scotland, and with his "Specimens of the British Poets," a compilation in which the selection of materials for extracts, as well as the composition of biographical notices, cost him abundance of labour and anxiety. All this, however, was for mere daily subsistence, not future fame; and even to keep up the reputation which his first work had procured him, it was necessary to follow it with one of at least equal excellence. To this necessity he was far from being insensible; and therefore, amidst his seasons of intermission, he had devoted himself with

all the ardour of a first and undiminished love to the production of "Gertrude of Wyoming," which at length was published in London in 1809. It was much that it should have fully sustained the fame that had been acquired by the "Pleasures of Hope;" but it did more—it evinced equal poetical power, with a more matured judgment and better taste. Jeffrey, that prince of critics, who had seen the work while passing through the press, thus characterized its excellencies:—"There is great beauty, and great tenderness and fancy in the work, and I am sure it will be very popular. The latter part is exquisitely pathetic, and the whole touched with those soft and skyish tints of purity and truth, which fall like enchantment on all minds that can make anything of such matters. Many of your descriptions come nearer the tone of 'The Castle of Indolence' than any succeeding poetry, and the pathos is much more graceful and delicate." After this commendation, which has been fully borne out by the admiration of the public for more than forty years, the talented critic introduces the emphatic "but," and proceeds to specify the faults which he found in "Gertrude of Wyoming;" and these, also, were such as the world has continued to detect. It consisted too much of finished episodes rather than a continuous poem. The language was still overlaboured, as if he had "hammered the metal in some places till it had lost all its ductility." These were faults, or blemishes, so inseparable from the mind of Campbell, that they were part and parcel of his intellectual existence, and he could only have abandoned them by relinquishing his individual identity. After this affectionate chastisement, Jeffrey adds, "Believe me, my dear C., the world will never know how truly you are a great and original poet, till you venture to cast before it some of the rough pearls of your fancy. Write one or two things without thinking of publication, or of what will be thought of them, and let me see them, at least, if you will not venture them any further. I am more mistaken in my prognostics than I ever was in my life, if they are not twice as tall as any of your full-dressed children." In the same volume were published several smaller poems, some of which had previously appeared before the public. Among these were "Lochiel" and "Hohenlinden," the first characterized by the "Edinburgh Review" as the most spirited and poetical denunciation of war since the days of Cassandra, and the second, as the only representation of a modern battle which possesses either interest or sublimity; and "Ye Mariners of England," and the "Battle of the Baltic," two songs that have justly ranked their author as the naval Alcæus of Britain. In a subsequent edition of "Gertrude," which appeared in the following year, the volume was enriched by the addition of "O'Connor's Child," the best, perhaps, of all his minor poems. Its origin was in the highest degree poetical. A little flower called "Love lies bleeding," grew in his garden, and the sentiments which it inspired, as he looked at it in his morning walks, gathered and expanded into the most beautiful of his ballads.

With a new task thus ended, relaxation was necessary; and with such an increase to his poetical reputation, it was natural that the society of Campbell, on re-entering the world, should be courted with renewed eagerness. Amidst the many introductions to the most distinguished of the day, there were two that gave him especial pleasure: the one was to Mrs. Siddons, the "Queen of Tragedy;" the other, to Caroline, Queen of Great Britain. He was now also to appear in a new literary capacity. This was as a lecturer on poetry at the Royal Institution, a task for which, perhaps, no poet of this period, so prolific of distinguished

bards, was so well qualified. He commenced this course on the 24th of April, 1812, and had the gratification not only of numbering among his audience some of the most illustrious in the literary world, but of being crowned with their approbation. There was, indeed, only one dissenting voice that made itself be heard at the third lecture. "At the most interesting part," he says, "a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain came on. The window above me was open, and the rain poured down on my paper as it did on Leander in the Hellespont. The lightning had given me an electrical headache, and the thunder, aided by the pattering rain, being my competitor in my endeavours to gain the public attention, it required all my lungs to obtain a hearing." His lectures were so popular in London, that he resolved to repeat them in Edinburgh, but this purpose he could not at present find time to execute. The peace of 1814, that threw Paris open to the world, enabled Campbell to accomplish the design of visiting that wonderful city, which he had entertained in 1802, but was prevented from executing by the sudden renewal of war. He accordingly crossed the channel, one of many thousands of visitors, and amidst all the marvels of Paris, nothing seems to have delighted him so much as the Louvre. The great master-pieces of ancient art seemed to burst upon him like the creations of another world, and made him shed tears of mingled awe and delight. In describing, immediately afterwards, the effect they produced on him, although he tells us he was no judge in statuary, yet we at once see he was more—he was a poet, feeling the inspiration of a kindred spirit manifested in a different department of their common art. Of the Apollo Belvidere, he says, "Oh how that immortal youth in all his splendour, majesty, divinity, flashed upon us from the end of the gallery! He seems as if he had just leapt from the sun." His visits, which were made to the Louvre in company with Mrs. Siddons, were of too transporting a character to be exclusively repeated, and therefore he gladly had recourse to the theatres, concerts, and conversaziones, the promenades, and public spectacles, with which the great metropolis of earth's pleasures is pervaded as its living principle. "But still," he adds, "after the Louvre, I know scarcely anything that is quite transcendent." After nearly two months that were spent well and happily in Paris, Campbell returned fresh with new sensations, that continued to animate him for years, and resumed his necessary studies at Sydenham. In 1815, an event also happened to alleviate the necessity of continual toil, and brighten the prospects of his future life. This was a legacy bequeathed to him by his Highland cousin, M^rArthur Stewart of Ascot, which, though nominally not more than £500, was increased to nearly £5000, through his share in the unappropriated residue bequeathed to the legatees by the testator.

The practice of public lecturing had now become so congenial to the mind of Campbell, and his course had been so popular, that he repeated it in Liverpool, Birmingham, and Edinburgh, to numerous and delighted audiences. The merits of these "Lectures on Poetry" are now familiar to the public, as they were afterwards published, as well as his "Specimens of the British Poets," in which the germs of his prelections were first displayed. In 1820 he was enabled to revisit Germany with his family, and after a trip, in which the romantic scenery of the Rhine, and the distinguished literary societies of Germany, were enjoyed with equal pleasure, he returned with fresh zest to England and his literary engagements. The most important of these was the editorship of the "New Monthly Magazine," which had been offered him on the most liberal

terms, and the duties of which he gladly undertook. It was a wholly new task, and therefore he was anxious to gather from his more experienced literary friends such advice upon the subject as might direct him in his course. Some of these admonitions could not have been very gratifying to a mind so sensitive and enthusiastic as his. In a letter written to him by the Rev. Sydney Smith upon the subject, that witty divine thus lectures him: "Remember that a *mag.* is not supported by papers evincing *wit* and *genius*, but by the height of the tide at London Bridge, by the price of oats, and by any sudden elevation or depression in the price of boiling pease. If your *mag.* succeeds, it will do so as much by the diligence and discretion you will impress upon your nature, as by the talents with which you are born." The "*Magazine*," however, acquired a new impulse from his superintendence; and among his own contributions, the poem entitled "*The Last Man*," one of the happiest of his productions, was universally applauded. While thus employed, "*Theodric*" appeared at the end of 1824. The following year Campbell started the plan of the London University, which he calls "the only important event in his life's little history," and pursued the object with a life-and-death earnestness; and, aided by the practical minds of Brougham and Hume, the project, after much conflict, was brought to a successful termination. So earnest, indeed, did he labour in the whole affair, that, not contented with the experience he had already acquired of German colleges as the model for that of London, he also travelled to Berlin, to study whatever was excellent in the university of the Prussian capital, and transplant it into London. And well did he evince his enthusiasm for the improvement of our national education by undertaking such a journey, for, although not more than forty-eight years of age, he was already a weakly old man. His indeed had been a premature decay; all the more, perhaps, because he had enjoyed a precocious intellectual manhood. But education rewarded him in return with one of the highest distinctions, and the most grateful to the mind of Campbell, which she had to bestow. In his own *alma mater*, the university of Glasgow, a canvass had for some time been going on to elect him to the honoured office of Lord Rector; and in the winter of 1826, the students, by whom the election is made, had been so unanimous in their choice, that he was appointed to the office by unanimous vote of the "four nations." Nor did the honour conferred upon him stop here; for, in the following year, and also the one after, his appointment was renewed by the suffrages of the students. He was thus three times successively Lord Rector of the university of Glasgow, a repetition unusual among the holders of that high academic office. But, amidst all this distinction, the mind of the poet had much to grieve and try him. Of his two sons, the younger had died in childhood, while the elder, his first-born, who had opened such a fountain of tenderness within his heart, had for years been in a state of lunacy, and was obliged to be kept in confinement. He was thus even worse than childless. In 1826, also, his affectionate wife, Matilda, in whom he had found so congenial a partner, died, and he found himself alone in the world. The "*New Monthly Magazine*," too, that had prospered so greatly under his care, and been a comfortable source of emolument, passed from under his management by one of those unlucky accidents to which periodical literature is especially exposed. A paper was inserted by mistake in its pages, without having been subjected to his editorial examination, and as the article in question was offensive in the highest degree, Campbell in 1830 abandoned the *Magazine*, and a salary of £600 per annum which he derived from it. Soon

after this, an event of a public and political nature moved him still more highly than any pecuniary loss could have done. This was the sanguinary capture of Warsaw in 1831, and the national miseries with which Poland was afterwards visited. He had embraced the cause of that most injured and most afflicted of the nations with a poet's enthusiasm; and now he predicted the final result of its wrongs with a poet's prophetic prescience. His words upon the subject are well worth considering—for are they not, even at the present day, after a lapse of twenty-one years, undergoing their fulfilment? "All is over now; and a brave nation is thrust a second time, assassinated, into her grave. Mysterious are the ways of heaven! We must not question its justice—but I am sick, and fevered with indignation at Germany, for suffering this foolish Emperor of Austria; he fears letting his people taste a little freedom, more than resigning his own freedom to Russia, for he will soon be the very vassal of the inhuman Slaves, which will be worse for him than if he had a free parliament under his nose—and so also will the King of Prussia be henceforth! All continental Europe, I distinctly anticipate, will be enslaved by Russia. France and Austria will worry each other till they are exhausted; and then down will Russia come on all the south of Europe, with millions and millions, and give law and the knout both to Germany and France." After such vaticinations, who can fail to recognize the truth of the following lines of Cowper:—

"So when remote futurity is brought
Before the keen inquiry of her thought,
A terrible sagacity informs
The poet's heart; he looks to distant storms;
He hears the thunder ere the tempest lowers;
And, arm'd with strength surpassing human powers,
Seizes events as yet unknown to man,
And darts his soul into the dawning plan."

It is gratifying to add that when Campbell's heart was thus occupied, he did not, like too many, withdraw from the throng, that he might brood in solitude over the luxury of sensibility. Instead of this, he spoke, wrote, declaimed upon the miseries of Poland, pictured them in poetry and in prose, appealed against them in companies of every political shade of belief, exerted himself to make all feel that instead of being a mere party question, it was the common cause of justice, honour, and humanity; and, to evince his sincerity, bestowed liberally, not only of his time and labour, but also of his money, in behalf of the Polish sufferers, at a season when money was the commodity which he least could spare. And his labours were not in vain. He awoke a deep sympathy in behalf of Poland wherever his influence extended, and succeeded in associating the Polish committee in London, which for years has been so successful in relieving thousands of the expatriated.

While employed in these avocations, the literary duties of Campbell still continued to be of a varied character. After his editorship of the "New Monthly Magazine" had ceased, he was employed in the same capacity in the "Metropolitan;" and subsequently his attentions were occupied with letters and pamphlets in support of the London University, and upon the subject of education in general; with reviews on works of classical history and fiction; and with a wide and laborious correspondence in French, German, and Latin, which employed him four hours every morning. To these, also, was added his "Life of Mrs. Siddons," a work to which he devoted himself with all his

characteristic enthusiasm, and finished in 1833. Thus, even when his name was least before the public, he was toiling generally in behalf of some great benevolent object with an earnestness under which his health frequently sank, and by which his final decay was rapidly accelerated. Still, however, he was earnest to produce one poem more—a final work, by which the poetical reputation he had hitherto acquired should be confirmed, and, if possible, extended—and as health was necessary for this purpose, he resolved to make the classical tour of Italy, by which mind and body should be braced alike for the contemplated enterprise. He therefore passed over to Paris in 1834; and although the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de Medicis were no longer there, he found the same cheerful society, and more than the same cordial welcome that had gladdened his visit of 1814. After having remained several weeks in the French capital, he resumed his journey, but with a very different destination; for, instead of Rome, he now embarked for Algiers. His friends at home were as much astonished at the tidings as if he had set off on a pilgrimage to Timbuctoo. But he had been poring in the king's library at Paris over books and maps of ancient geography, where the Roman city of Icosium, that had occupied the site of Algiers, met his eye; and the late changes by which this Mauritanian city of the waters had been converted into the capital of a French province, fired his imagination with pictures of the future civilization of Africa. This was enough to decide him on embarking at Toulon, on the 11th September, 1834, and in seven days after he was traversing the crooked streets of Algiers, beneath the blaze of an African sun. But he was still among French society, to whom his literary reputation was a welcome passport; he even found one of the French officers there employed in a translation of his poems with a view to publication. New health, nay, a new life itself, was the reward of this journey, and he describes the scenery and his own feelings in the following buoyant style: "Oh, my old crony! it would do your heart good to see your friend prancing gloriously on an Arabian barb over the hills of the white city (for Algiers, with all its forts, battlements, mosques, and minarets, is as dazzling white as snow), and enjoying the splendid scenery. I have no words to convey the impression it has made on me. I felt, on my ride, as if I had dropt into a new planet! Some parts of the hills, it is true, are bare; but wherever there is verdure, it has a bold, gigantic richness, a brilliancy and odour, that mock even the productions of our hot-houses. Never shall I forget my first ride! It was early morning: the blue Mediterranean spread a hundred miles beneath—a line of flamingoes shot over the wave—the white city blazed in the rising sun—the Arabs, with their dromedaries loaded with fruits for the market, were coming down the steep. Around, in countless numbers, were the white, square, castle-looking country-houses of the Moors, inclosed in gardens; the romantic tombs of the Marabouts, held sacred, and surrounded with trees and flowers, that are watered with a perpetual spring from marble fountains, where you see the palm towering with its feathery tufts as high as a minaret. . . . Then the ravines that run down to the sea! I alighted to explore one of them, and found a *burn* that might have gurgled in a Scottish glen. A thousand sweet novelties of wild flowers grew above its borders; and a dear little bird sang among its trees. The view terminated in the discharge of the stream among the rocks and foam of the sea,—

'And where this valley winded out below,'

The murmuring main was heard—and scarcely heard to flow.'

In short, my dear John, I feel as if my soul had grown an inch taller since I came here. I have a thousand, and a thousand curious things to tell you; but I shall keep them all bottled up to tell you in Fludyer Street—unless the cholera comes over me. If it should, I have at least had some happy days; and the little void that I leave in the world will be soon filled up."

These "happy days" were extended over the two following months, during which the poet made short trips among the native tribes, and explored whatever was curious in the past and present history of these children of the desert, and the localities they occupied. And fortunately for him, the dreaded cholera did not come, so that he revelled uninterrupted amidst the healthy and spirit-stirring enjoyments of the new scenes into which he had entered. The consequence was, that on his return to London, his friends congratulated him on being several years younger than when he had set out on his travels. This healthy effect of a glowing Moorish atmosphere, was afterwards improved and made permanent by a trip to his native north, that followed soon after—an alternation that resembled the sudden plunge from a hot bath into a cold. But where was the poem which was to be produced on his return? Let no poet say to himself, "Go to, I will sit down on such and such a day and write an epic." History and antiquity, past events and living realities, the rich landscapes around Algiers and Oran, and their stirring throng of Moors and Frenchmen, had so wholly occupied his thoughts, that laying aside his poetical purposes to an indefinite period, he devoted himself to the preparation of "Letters from Algiers," which were afterwards published in two volumes. His financial affairs, too, notwithstanding his habitual disregard of money, and thoughtless facility in parting with it, were in a more prosperous condition than they had been at any former period. Such was the tranquil course of his life from 1835 to 1841, when a return of his former ailments so stirred his impatience, that without any previous notice or preparation, he suddenly started for Weisbaden, expecting to find a miraculous recovery among its Brunnen. Such, indeed, was his hurry, that he forgot to provide himself with money, so that on arriving at the baths, he was obliged to write to a friend in London, commissioning him to enter his house in Victoria Square, take out all the money he found there, and after remitting him a portion, to lodge the rest at his banker's. It was truly marvellous that such a man should ever have had money to leave behind him! Fortified with this authority, his friend, accompanied by a lawyer, went to Campbell's house, opened the press-door in his bedroom, which did not seem to be even locked, and commenced his exploration. But though every shelf, drawer, cranny, every shirt-fold and coat-pocket of this poetical chaos was searched and rummaged, there was nowhere a token of money. The lawyer was grievously scandalized, and talked professionally of careless custody, and burglary. At length, when closing the press-door in despair, the process was interrupted by the point of a red embroidered slipper, stuffed, as it appeared, with paper matches for lighting candles, and on unrolling these, they found that the apparently worthless papers consisted of bank-notes to the amount of more than £300! By an inconsistency not unusual in human nature, Campbell at this very period was grumbling at the rate of exchange in Weisbaden, where not more than 19s. 6d. was given for an English sovereign. His stay was only for six weeks, and during this period he composed the ballad of the "Child and Hind." He published also "The Pilgrim of Glencoe, with other poems," in which the "Child and Hind," the "Song of the Colonists," and "Moonlight," appeared for the

first time. Unfortunately, however, the "Pilgrim," notwithstanding its excellencies, was felt to be inferior to his first productions, and was rated accordingly. But he was no longer the same youthful spirit that had produced the "Pleasures of Hope" and "Gertrude of Wyoming." Flashes, indeed, of his former self would still break out from his poetry and conversation, but they were the fitful irradiations of a once steady but now departing sunshine. He had now reached the age of sixty-six, and perhaps he had drawn too fervently and fast upon the resources of a naturally delicate constitution, to be otherwise than a feeble broken-down man at such a period of life. To add also to his distresses, the sale of his poems, which for some years had produced him about £500 per annum, could not now realize above £60 or £70. From the double motive of health and economy, he resolved to make his future residence in Boulogne, to which he repaired in July, 1843. His friends—and few had more attached friends than Campbell—felt as if this was a final departure, to be followed by no happy return.

These mournful forebodings were too truly verified. His constitution was already so old, and so completely exhausted, that no change of climate could enable it to rally; and the winter of Boulogne, instead of alleviating his ailments, only seemed to aggravate them beyond the power of removal. Spring came, and summer succeeded; but their bright sunshine only half-lighted the curtained sick-room, and finally flickered upon the death-bed of him who had so often watched its changes, and delighted in its beauty. But in his last hours he was not alone, for besides his affectionate niece, who attended him with a daughter's solicitude, his bed-side was solaced by the presence of Dr. Beattie, his faithful friend, physician, and biographer, who had crossed from London to Boulogne, to soothe the departing hours of his affectionate patient. Amidst such gentle guardianship, by which every aid and alleviation was administered, Thomas Campbell died without a struggle, and apparently without pain, solaced to the last moment by the consoling portions of Scripture that were read to him, in which he expressed his earnest faith and hope; and by the prayers in which he joined in look and attitude when the power of speech had departed. His death occurred on the 15th of June, 1844, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The body was removed from Boulogne to London, and interred in Westminster Abbey; a handful of earth from the tomb of Kosciusko, the Polish hero, that had been treasured for the purpose, was thrown into the grave of the poet who had written so eloquently and laboured so much in behalf of Poland; and his ashes now repose in the neighbourhood of the monuments erected to Addison, Goldsmith, and Sheridan.

CHALMERS, ALEXANDER, M.A., F.S.A.—The life of this laborious literary workman is more remarkable for untiring industry, and its immense amount of produce, than for greatness or originality of genius. He was born at Aberdeen, on the 29th of March, 1769, and was the youngest son of James Chalmers, printer in Aberdeen, an accomplished scholar, who established the first newspaper that existed in that town. Alexander, after completing a classical education, continued his studies for the medical profession; and, on finally being appointed to practice as surgeon in the West Indies, he left Aberdeen in 1777, to join the ship which was to carry him to his destination. But on reaching Portsmouth, instead of stepping on board, he suddenly flew off to London. He had either lost heart at the thought of a residence in the West Indies, at that time one of the worst of exiles, or had suddenly become enamoured with the

charms of a literary life in the metropolis. At all events, thither he went, and although his line of existence was stretched out nearly sixty years beyond this period, his native city saw him no more.

On entering London, Mr. Chalmers commenced as a contributor to the periodical press, and became editor of the "Public Ledger and London Packet." It was a stirring and prolific period for journalists, in consequence of the American war, and so ably did he exert himself, that he soon became noted as a vigorous political writer. Besides his own, he exercised his talents in other established journals of the day, the chief of which was the "St. James's Chronicle," where he wrote many essays, most of them under the signature of Senex. He was also a valuable assistant for some years to his fellow-townsmen, Mr. James Perry, editor and proprietor of the "Morning Chronicle," who had come to London at the same time as himself, and to whose newspaper Chalmers contributed racy paragraphs, epigrams, and satirical poems. He was likewise a contributor to the "Analytical Review," published by Mr. Johnson, and to the "Critical Review." As the last-named magazine was published by Mr. George Robinson of Paternoster Row, a close connection was established between Mr. Chalmers and that eminent publisher, which continued till the death of the latter, and was of important service to both parties. Chalmers, who lived almost wholly with his friend, assisted him in the examination of manuscripts offered for publication, and also revised, and occasionally altered and improved, those that were passed through the press. With most, indeed, of the principal publishers and printers in London during fifty years Chalmers maintained a friendly intercourse, and of many of them he has left interesting biographies in the Obituary of the "Gentleman's Magazine," a favourite periodical to which he frequently contributed. These literary exertions, however, numerous though they were, and extended over a long course of years, were as nothing compared with his permanent labours as editor of many of the most important works of British authorship; and it is by these, of which we can only give a very brief notice, that his merits are chiefly to be estimated.

In 1793 he published a continuation of the "History of England in Letters," two volumes. This work was so well appreciated, that four editions successively appeared, the last being in 1821.

In 1797 he compiled a "Glossary to Shakspeare"—a task peculiarly agreeable to a Scotsman, who finds in the copious admixture of unpolluted Saxon existing in his own native dialect, a key to much that is now obsolete in the English of the Elizabethan period.

In 1798 he published a "Sketch of the Isle of Wight," and in the same year an edition of "The Rev. James Barclay's Complete and Universal English Dictionary."

In 1803 he published a complete edition of the "British Essayists," beginning with the "Tatler," and ending with the "Observer," in forty-five volumes. The papers of this long series he carefully compared with the originals, and enriched the work with biographical and historical prefaces, and a general index.

During the same year, he produced a new edition of Shakspeare, in nine volumes, with a life of the author, and abridgment of the notes of Stevens, accompanied with illustrations from the pencil of Fuseli.

In 1805 he wrote lives of Robert Burns, and Dr. Beattie, author of the "Minstrel," which were prefixed to their respective works.

In 1806 he edited Fielding's works, in ten volumes octavo; Dr. Johnson's works, in twelve volumes octavo; Warton's essays, the "Tatler," "Spectator," and "Guardian," in fourteen volumes octavo; and assisted the Rev. W. L. Bowles in his edition of the works of Alexander Pope.

In 1807 he edited "Gibbon's Decline and Fall," in twelve volumes octavo, to which he prefixed a Life of the Author.

In 1808, and part of the following year, he selected and edited, in forty-five volumes, the popular work known as "Walker's Classics."

In 1809 he edited Bolingbroke's works, in eight volumes octavo. During this year, and the intervals of several that followed, he contributed many of the lives contained in that splendid work, the "British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits."

In 1810 he revised an enlarged edition of "The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper," and prefixed to it several biographical notices omitted in the first collection. During the same year, he published "A History of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings attached to the University of Oxford." This work he intended to continue, but did not complete it.

In 1811 he revised Bishop Hurd's edition of Addison's works, in six volumes octavo, and an edition of Pope's works, in eight volumes octavo. During the same year he published, with many alterations, "The Projector," in three volumes octavo, a collection of original articles which he had contributed to the "Gentleman's Magazine," from the year 1802 to 1809.

In 1812 he prefixed a "Life of Alexander Cruden" to a new edition of "Cruden's Concordance."

During the last-mentioned year, also, Chalmers commenced the largest and most voluminous of all his literary labours, and the work upon which his reputation chiefly rests. This was "The General Biographical Dictionary, containing an Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the most Eminent Men in every Nation, particularly the British and Irish; from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Times." The original work, published in 1798, had consisted of fifteen volumes. Large though it was, Chalmers found it incomplete, and resolved to expand it into a full and perfect work. He therefore commenced this gigantic labour in May, 1812, and continued to publish a volume every alternate month for four years and ten months, until thirty-two volumes were successively laid before the public. The amount of toil undergone during this period may be surmised from the fact, that of the nine thousand and odd articles which the Dictionary contains, 3934 were entirely his own production, 2176 were re-written by him, and the rest revised and corrected.

After these toils, it might have been supposed that the veteran editor and author would have left the field to younger men. He had now reached the age of fifty-seven, and had crowded that period with an amount of literary exertion such as might well indicate the full occupation of every day, and every hour of the day. But no sooner was the last volume of the Biographical Dictionary ended, than he was again at work, as if he had entered freshly into action; and from 1816 to 1823 a series of publications was issued from the press that had passed under his editorial pen, chiefly consisting of biographies. But at last the "pitcher was broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern." During the latter years of his life, he had been employed by the booksellers to revise and enlarge his "Biographical Dictionary," and upon this he had continued to employ himself

until about a third of the work was finished, when the breaking up of his constitution obliged him to lay aside his well-worn pen. His last years were years of suffering, arising chiefly from diseases incident to such a sedentary life, until he sank under an attack of bronchial inflammation. His death occurred in Throgmorton Street, London, on the 10th of December, 1834, in his seventy-sixth year. His wife had died eighteen years previous, and his remains were interred in the same vault with hers, in the church of St. Bartholomew, near the Royal Exchange.

In the foregoing summary we have omitted the mention of not a few of Chalmers' less essential literary performances, conceiving the list to be already long enough to give an idea of his character and well-spent life. We can only add, that his character was such as to endear him to the literary society with whom he largely mingled, and by whom his acquaintance was eagerly sought. He was what Dr. Johnson would have termed "a good clubbable man," and was a member of many learned societies during half a century, as well as the affectionate biographer of many of his companions who had been wont to assemble there. He was charitable almost to a fault—a rare excess with those in whom a continued life of toil is too often accompanied with an undue love of money, and unwillingness to part with it. He was also in his private life an illustration of that Christian faith and those Christian virtues which his literary exertions had never failed to recommend.

CHALMERS, REV. THOMAS, D.D.—This eminent orator, philosopher, and divine, by whom the highest interests of his country during the present century have been so materially influenced, was born in the once important, but now unnoticed town of Anstruther, on the south-east coast of Fife, on the 17th March, 1780. He was the son of Mr. John Chalmers, a prosperous dyer, ship-owner, and general merchant in Easter-Anstruther, and Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of a wine-merchant of Crail, who, in the course of twenty-two years, were the parents of nine sons and five daughters, of which numerous family, Thomas, the subject of this memoir, was the sixth. After enduring the tyranny of a severe nurse, he passed in his third year into the hands of an equally severe schoolmaster, a worn-out parish teacher, whose only remaining capacity for the instruction of the young consisted in an incessant application of the rod. Thus early was Thomas Chalmers taught the evils of injustice and oppression; but who can tell the number of young minds that may have been crushed under a process by which his was only invigorated! After having learned to read, and acquired as much Latin as he could glean under such unpromising tuition, he was sent, at the age of twelve, to the United College of St. Andrews. Even long before this period he had studied with keen relish "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress," and resolved to be a minister. It appears that, like too many youths at their entrance into our Scottish universities, he had scarcely any classical learning, and was unable to write even his own language according to the rules of orthography and grammar. All these obstacles, however, only called forth that indomitable perseverance by which his whole career in life was distinguished; and in his third year's course at college, when he had reached the age of fifteen, he devoted himself with such ardour to the study of mathematics, that he soon became distinguished by his proficiency in the science, even among such class-fellows as Leslie, Ivory, and Duncan. These abstract studies required some relief, and in the case of Chalmers, they were alternated with ethics, politics, and political economy. After the usual curriculum of four years he enrolled as a student of

theology, but with a heart so devoted to the abstractions of geometry, that divinity occupied little of his thoughts; even when it was afterwards admitted, it was more in the form of sentimental musings, than of patient laborious inquiry for the purposes of public instruction. But he had so successfully studied the principles of composition, and acquired such a mastery of language, that even at the age of sixteen, many of his college productions exhibited that rich and glowing eloquence which was to form his distinguished characteristic in after years. He had also acquired that occasional dreaminess of look and absence of manner which so often characterizes deep thinkers, and especially mathematicians; and of this he gave a curious illustration, when he had finished his seventh year at college, and was about to enter a family as private tutor. His father's household had repaired to the door, to bid him farewell; and after this was ended, Thomas mounted the horse that was to carry him to the Dundee ferry. But in accomplishing this feat, he put his right foot (the wrong one on this occasion) into the stirrup, and was in the saddle in a trice, with his face to the horse's tail! When ready to apply for license as a preacher, an obstacle was in his way; for as yet he had not completed his nineteenth year, while the rules of the Church required that no student should be licensed before he had reached the age of twenty-one. This difficulty, however, was overruled by an exceptional clause in favour of those possessing "rare and singular qualities;" and it having been represented by the member of presbytery who discovered this qualification in the old statute, that Thomas Chalmers was a "lad o' pregnant pairs," the young applicant, after the usual trials, was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, on the 31st of July, 1799.

On entering the sacred office, Chalmers was in no haste to preach; on the contrary, he refused the numerous demands that were made upon his clerical services, took up his abode in Edinburgh during the winter of 1799-1800, for the purpose of prosecuting his mathematical studies under Professor Playfair, and deprecated the idea of even a church presentation itself, lest it should prove an interruption to the progress of his beloved pursuits. The following winter he also spent in Edinburgh, almost exclusively occupied in the study of chemistry. As there was a prospect of the parish of Kilmany soon becoming vacant, which was in the gift of the United College of St. Andrews, and to which his nomination by the professors was certain, Chalmers might now have awaited in tranquillity that happy destination for life to which his studies hitherto had been ostensibly devoted. But science and scientific distinction were still the great objects of his ambition, and the mathematical assistantship of St. Andrews having become vacant, he presented himself as a candidate for the charge, in the hope that such an appointment would ultimately lead to the professorship, without obliging him to forego the ministerial charge of Kilmany—for St. Andrews was the head-quarters of ecclesiastical pluralities. In both objects he was successful; and having lectured and taught mathematics at college in the winter of 1802-3, on 12th May, 1803, he was inducted into his expected parish. The ardour with which he threw himself into his college prelections, and the unwonted eloquence with which he imbued a science so usually delivered in the form of dry detail and demonstration, constituted a novelty that astonished, while it delighted his pupils, and their earnest application and rapid proficiency fully corresponded with the efforts of their youthful teacher. At the close of the session, however, a bitter disappointment awaited him; he was told by his employer that his services as assistant teacher were no longer required, while

inefficiency for the office was stated as the cause of his dismissal. This charge was not only most unjust in itself, but would have operated most injuriously against Mr. Chalmers, by closing the entrance to any scientific chair that might afterwards become vacant in our universities. To refute this charge, therefore, as well as to silence his maligners, he resolved to open on the following winter a class of his own in the town of St. Andrews, and there show whether or not he was fitted to be a professor of mathematics. He accordingly did so, and was so completely attended by the pupils of his former class, that he felt no change, except in the mere locality. In taking this bold independent step, also, he was anxious to repudiate those resentful or malignant motives to which it might have been attributed. "My appearance in this place," he said, "may be ascribed to the worst of passions; some may be disposed to ascribe it to the violence of a revengeful temper—some to stigmatize me as a firebrand of turbulence and mischief. These motives I disclaim. I disclaim them with the pride of an indignant heart which feels its integrity. My only motive is, to restore that academical reputation which I conceive to have been violated by the aspersions of envy. It is this which has driven me from the peaceful silence of the country—which has forced me to exchange my domestic retirement for the whirl of contention." In spite of the determined hostility of the professors, whose influence was all-prevalent in the town, the three classes of mathematics which Chalmers opened were so fully attended, that he opened a class of chemistry also, and in this science, his eloquent expositions and successful experiments were so popular that the whole county was stirred in his favour. His labours at this youthful commencement of his public career could only have been supported by an enthusiasm like his own; for, in addition to daily attendance on his classes, and preparation of lectures, demonstrations, and experiments, he fulfilled the duties of the pulpit, returning for that purpose to Kilmany on the Saturday evenings, and setting out to St. Andrews on Monday morning. Even his enemies thought this labour too much, and resolved to lighten it, though with no benevolent feeling; and the presbytery was moved, for the purpose of compelling him to reside permanently at Kilmany, and attend exclusively to the duties of the parish. It was not the evils of plurality and non-residence in the abstract which they cared about, but that these should furnish an opportunity for the lecturer to intrude into St. Andrews, and teach within the very shadow of its university. Chalmers felt that this was their motive, and wrote to the presbytery an eloquent defence of his conduct. On the following session, he conceded so far as to discontinue his mathematical classes, and only attend to that of chemistry, which had become very popular in the county, and would require his attendance only two or three days of each week. Even this did not satisfy the presbytery, and one of its members requested it to be inserted in their minutes, that, "in his opinion, Mr. Chalmers' giving lectures in chemistry is improper, and ought to be discontinued." This was done; upon which Chalmers, as a member of the presbytery, begged that it should also be inserted in their minutes, that "after the punctual discharge of his professional duties, his time was his own; and he conceived that no man or no court had a right to control him in the distribution of it."

An opportunity soon occurred for which Chalmers had ardently longed. It was nothing less than a vacancy in the professorship of Natural Philosophy in St. Andrews, and he became one of three candidates for the chair. But the whole three were set aside in favour of Mr. Jackson, rector of Ayr Academy.

In the following year (1805) a similar vacancy occurred in the university of Edinburgh, by the death of Dr. Robinson, and again Chalmers entered the lists; but here also he was disappointed, with the consolation, however, that the successful candidate was no other than the celebrated Leslie. This competition called forth his first effort in authorship, in the form of a pamphlet, in consequence of the assertion, that a ministerial charge and scientific appointment combined in one person were incompatible—a pamphlet which, in subsequent years, he laboured to suppress, and gladly would have forgot. At present, however, his expressed opinion was, that “after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage.” This, alas! was too true, if that “satisfactory discharge” of parochial duty involved nothing more than the usual routine of a parish minister. Chalmers, therefore, had to find some other outlet for his “uninterrupted leisure;” and after having exhausted the field of St. Andrews, he resumed his lectureship on chemistry in his little parish of Kilmany, and the county town of Cupar. But even yet, something additional was needed, besides the delivery of lectures formerly repeated, and experiments that had been twice tried; and this was soon furnished by Napoleon’s menace of invasion. The hostile camp of the modern Caesar at Boulogne, and the avowed purpose for which it had been collected, roused the spirit of Britain, so that military associations were formed, from the metropolis to the hamlet, in every part of our island. This was more than enough for the ardent spirit of Chalmers, and he enrolled himself in the St. Andrews corps of volunteers, not only as chaplain, but lieutenant. It is well known how this threat of an invasion of Britain was exchanged for an attack upon Austria, and how suddenly the breaking up of the hostile encampment at Boulogne, dismissed a million of armed Britons to their homes and workshops. On doffing his military attire, the minister of Kilmany had other and more professional occupation to attend to at the bed-side of a dying brother, who had returned to his father’s home afflicted with consumption, under which he died in a few months. During the last illness of the amiable sufferer, one of the duties of Thomas Chalmers was to read to his brother portions of those religious works which he had denounced from the pulpit as savouring of fanaticism, and to hear the criticism pronounced upon them by the lips of the dying man, as he fervently exclaimed, “I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes.” After this departure from life, which was one of solemn and impressive resignation, Chalmers gave relief to his thoughts, first by a journey to England, in which he visited London, Cambridge, and Oxford, and afterwards by authorship. Independently of mathematics, chemistry, and botany, which his ardent spirit of inquiry had successively mastered, he had studied the science of political economy; and now that Bonaparte had published his famous Berlin decree, by which the mercantile and manufacturing community of Britain was panic-struck, Chalmers produced his “Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources,” to show that this apprehension was groundless. The analysis of this work can be best given in his own account of it. In a letter to his brother he says, “The great burden of my argument is, that the manufacturer who prepares an article for home consumption is the servant of the inland consumer, labouring for his gratification, and supported by the price which he pays for the article; that the manufacturer of an article for exportation is no

less the servant of the inland consumer, because, though he does not labour immediately for his gratification, he labours for a return from foreign countries. This return comes in articles of luxury, which fetch a price from our inland consumers. Hence, it is ultimately from the inland consumer that the manufacturer of the exported article derives his maintenance. Suppose, then, that trade and manufacture were destroyed, this does not affect the ability of the inland consumer. The whole amount of the mischief is, that he loses the luxuries which were before provided for him, but he still retains the ability to give the same maintenance as before to the immense population who are now discarded from their former employments. Suppose this ability to be transferred to government in the form of a tax. Government takes the discarded population into its service. They follow their subsistence wherever it can be found; and thus, from the ruin of our trading and manufacturing interest, government collects the means of adding to the naval and military establishments of the country. I therefore anticipate that Bonaparte, after he has succeeded in shutting up the markets of the Continent against us, will be astonished—and that the mercantile politicians of our own country will be no less astonished—to find Britain as hale and vigorous as ever, and fitter than before for all the purposes of defence, and security, and political independence.” Such was the theory of Chalmers, studied with much care, written with patriotic enthusiasm, and published at Edinburgh in the spring of 1808. It was perhaps as well that no opportunity occurred of testing its soundness, owing to the remissness with which the Berlin decree was executed, so that it gradually became a dead letter. Chalmers, however, was so impressed with the urgency of the danger, and the efficacy of his plan to remove it, that he was anxious to obtain a national publicity for his volume; and with this view he had resolved to repair to the capital, and negotiate for bringing out a new edition by the London publishers. But this event, which might have altered the whole current of his life, and changed him into a Malthus or Adam Smith, was prevented by a trying family dispensation, so that instead of embarking in a Dundee smack as he had purposed, he was obliged to attend the death-bed of one of his sisters. It is to be observed, however, that his studies in political economy were not to be without important results. In after years they were brought vigorously and successfully to bear upon the management of towns and parishes, and the cure of pauperism; and above all, in organizing the provision of a church, that threw aside, and at once, the support and maintenance of the State, when conscience demanded the sacrifice.

In this way, the first twenty-nine years in the life of the subject of this memoir had passed. But still, it gives little or no indication of that Dr. Chalmers who was afterwards so widely renowned throughout the Christian world—of that very Dr. Chalmers whom the present generation so fondly loved, and still so vividly remembers. As yet, the record might serve for an amiable enthusiastic *savant* of England, France, or Italy, rather than a Scottish country minister intrusted with the care of souls, and preparing his accounts for the close of such a solemn stewardship. But a series of events occurred at this time by which the whole character of his mind and ministry was to be changed. The first, and perhaps the most important of these, was the death of his sister, an event to which we have already alluded. She had departed amidst feelings of hope and joy that far transcended the mere passive resignation of philosophy; and the affectionate heart that pined within the lonely manse of Kilmany, while re-

membering her worth, and lamenting her departure, had a subject of anxious inquiry bequeathed to him, as to whence that hope and joy had arisen. The first indication of this was given in a change that took place in the course of his authorship. Previous to his sister's decease, and while the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia" was in progress, he had been invited by Dr. Brewster, the distinguished editor, to contribute to the work; and this Chalmers had resolved to do, by writing the article "Trigonometry," for which purpose he had devoted himself to the study of Cagnoli's "*Trigonometria Plana e Sferica*," at that time the standard work upon the subject. But after her death he changed his purpose, and earnestly requested that the article "Christianity" should be committed to his management, offering, at the same time, to live three or four months in St. Andrews, for the purpose of collecting the necessary materials in the college library. After his sister's decease, the admonitory blow was repeated; this was the death of Mr. Ballardie, a childless old officer of the navy, in whose affection he had found a second father, and who was one evening discovered dead upon his knees, having been called away into life eternal in the very midst of prayer. These warnings were succeeded by a long and severe illness, that reduced him to the helplessness of infancy, and threatened to be fatal; and amidst the musings of a sick chamber, and unquiet tossings upon what he believed to be a death-bed, the anxious mind of Chalmers had full scope for those solemn investigations which the previous calamities had awoken into action. But the trial ended; and after passing through such a furnace, he emerged into life, and the full vigour of life, a purified and altered man. His own account of the change and its process is truly characteristic, and it will be seen from the following extract, that a congenial spirit from the dwellings of the dead had hovered, as it were, beside his pillow, and spoken to him the words of counsel and encouragement. "My confinement," he wrote to a friend, "has fixed on my heart a very strong impression of the insignificance of time—an impression which, I trust, will not abandon me though I again reach the hey-day of health and vigour. This should be the first step to another impression still more salutary—the magnitude of eternity. Strip human life of its connection with a higher scene of existence, and it is the illusion of an instant, an unmeaning farce, a series of visions, and projects, and convulsive efforts, which terminate in nothing. I have been reading Pascal's "Thoughts on Religion;" you know his history—a man of the richest endowments, and whose youth was signalized by his profound and original speculations in mathematical science, but who could stop short in the brilliant career of discovery, who could resign all the splendours of literary reputation, who could renounce without a sigh all the distinctions which are conferred upon genius, and resolve to devote every talent and every hour to the defence and illustration of the gospel. This, my dear sir, is superior to all Greek, and to all Roman fame."

This change which had taken place in the man, was soon manifested in the minister, and the pulpit of Kilmany no longer gave forth an uncertain sound. Hitherto, Chalmers had advocated virtuous feeling and a virtuous life as the head and front of Christianity, to which the righteousness and death of our blessed Saviour were make-weights and nothing more. And yet, even how that little was supplemented, and what was its mode of agency, he could not conjecture. "In what particular manner," he thus preached, "the death of our Redeemer effected the remission of our sins, or rather, why that death was made a condition of this remission, seems to be an unrevealed point in the Scrip-

tures. Perhaps the God of nature meant to illustrate the purity of his perfection to the children of men; perhaps it was efficacious in promoting the improvement, and confirming the virtue of other orders of being. The tenets of those whose gloomy and unenlarged minds are apt to imagine that the Author of nature required the death of Jesus merely for the reparation of violated justice, are rejected by all free and rational inquirers." In this manner he groped his way in utter uncertainty—a blind leader of the blind, upon a path where to stumble may be to fall for ever. But a year had elapsed, a new sun had arisen, and his eyes were opened. "I am now most thoroughly of opinion," he writes, "and it is an opinion founded on experience, that on the system of 'Do this and live,' no peace, and even no true and worthy obedience, can ever be attained. It is, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' When this belief enters the heart, joy and confidence enter along with it. The righteousness which we try to work out for ourselves eludes our impotent grasp, and never can a soul arrive at true or permanent rest in the pursuit of this object. The righteousness which by faith we put on, secures our acceptance with God, and secures our interest in his promises, and gives us a part in those sanctifying influences by which we are enabled to do with aid from on high what we never can do without it. We look to God in a new light—we see Him as a reconciled Father; that love to him which terror scares away, re-enters the heart, and with a new principle and a new power, we become new creatures in Jesus Christ our Lord." Not only the change in the spirit of his pulpit ministrations was now remarkable, but the manner in which they were prepared. Of this we have a striking proof in the following incident. Mr. John Bonthron, a near neighbour and intimate acquaintance, one day remarked to Mr. Chalmers, before his illness had commenced: "I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another, but come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath." "Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that," replied the minister. After the change, the visitor found that, call when he might, he found Mr. Chalmers employed in the study of the Scriptures, and could not help expressing his wonderment: "I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible." "All too little, John, all too little," was the altered minister's reply.

Two years had passed onward in this state, during which the changed condition of the church of Kilmany and its talented minister had been a subject of speculation throughout the whole county. It was not that he had abandoned scientific pursuits, for he still cultivated these as ardently as ever; nor relinquished his devotedness to literature, for he was more eager for the labours and enjoyments of authorship than before. But all these were kept in subserviency to a more important principle of existence, and consecrated to a higher aim. He had now reached the matured age of thirty-two, a period of life at which the most active may well wish for a partner in their labours, and the most recluse and studious a companion of their thoughts. He had also been the occupant of a lonely manse during nine long years, but was still as ignorant of the management and details of housekeeping as when he first entered that dwelling, and sat down to resume his college problems. His heart, too, had been lately opened and expanded by the glorious truths of the gospel—and how earnestly does it then seek a congenial heart into which it may utter its emotions, a kindred soul with whom it may worship and adore! And such a one was already provided; one who through life was to soothe his cares, animate his labours,

console him in his disappointments, and finally to rejoin him in a happier world than that he had left, after a brief separation. This was Miss Grace Pratt, second daughter of Captain Pratt, of the 1st Royal Veteran Battalion. Mr. Chalmers, indeed, on account of the smallness of his stipend, had previously resolved never to marry; but when this amiable lady appeared for a short time in his neighbourhood, the resolution was somehow lost sight of, and when she was about to remove to her own home, he felt that there was no further leisure for delay. He was accepted, and they were married on the 4th August, 1812. The following picture of the state of life into which he had entered, forms the *beau idéal* of a happy country manse, and its newly-married inmates. Writing to his sister, he says, "I have got a small library for her; and a public reading in the afternoon, when we take our turns for an hour or so, is looked upon as one of the most essential parts of our family management. It gives me the greatest pleasure to inform you, that in my new connection, I have found a coadjutor who holds up her face for all the proprieties of a clergyman's family, and even pleads for their extension beyond what I had originally proposed. We have now family worship twice a-day; and though you are the only being on earth to whom I would unveil the most secret arrangements of our family, I cannot resist the pleasure of telling you, because I know that it will give you the truest pleasure to understand, that in those still more private and united acts of devotion which are so beautifully described in the 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' I feel a comfort, an elevation, and a peace of mind of which I was never before conscious."

Allusion has already been made to the connection of Mr. Chalmers with the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," and the earnest desire he had expressed, so early as the year 1809, to have the article "Christianity" intrusted to his management. This request was complied with, and early in 1813, his treatise under that title appeared in the 6th volume of the work. It consisted, as is well known, of the evidences of the divine origin of Christianity, based, not upon the internal excellence of its character, or the proofs of its heaven-derived origin, as exhibited in the divine nature of its teaching, but simply upon the historical proofs of its authenticity. No fact in the whole range of history could be more certain than that Christ and his apostles had lived at the period assigned to them, and that they had acted and taught precisely according to the record which revelation has handed down to us. This being satisfactorily ascertained, all cavil must be silenced, and all hesitation abandoned: that teaching has been shown to be from God, and nothing more remains for man but implicitly to receive, and humbly to obey it. This was his line of argument, and it had been so early matured in his mind, that he had developed the idea in one of his chemical lectures delivered at St. Andrews. "The truth of Christianity," he said, "is neither more nor less than the truth of certain facts that have been handed down to us by the testimony of reporters." The originality of his arguments, the force of his conclusions, and the eloquent, clear, and vigorous style in which they were expressed, arrested the public attention, and secured for the article such a favourable reception, that for the purpose of diffusing its benefits more widely, the proprietors of the "Encyclopædia" caused it to be published as a separate work. Still, however, there were not a few who complained that the base of Christian evidence had been unnecessarily lessened by such an exclusive mode of reasoning; and he was addressed on the subject, not only with private remonstrance, but also with sharp criticisms through the press. The effect of all this was, gradu-

ally to enlarge his conceptions upon the subject, so that more than twenty years after, when the work reappeared in his "Institutes of Theology," it was with the internal evidences added to the external. In this way, he surrendered a long-cherished and beloved theory to more matured convictions, and satisfied, while he answered, the objections which the first appearance of his treatise had occasioned.

These were not the only literary labours of Chalmers at this period. About the same time that his article on Christian evidence appeared in the "Encyclopædia," he published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor." It had been alleged, that the parochial associations formed in Scotland in aid of the Bible Society, would curtail the voluntary parish funds that were raised for the relief of the poor. This argument touched Chalmers very closely; for he was not only an enthusiastic advocate for the relief of poverty by voluntary contribution instead of compulsory poor-rates, but also an active agent in the multiplication of Bible-Society associations over the country. He therefore endeavoured to show, that these different institutions, instead of being hostile, would be of mutual aid to each other; and that Bible Societies had a tendency not only to stimulate and enlarge Christian liberality, but to lessen the amount of poverty, by introducing a more industrious and independent spirit among the poor. This was speedily followed by a review of "Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth," which was published in the "Christian Instructor," and in which Chalmers boldly ventured to call in question the generally received chronology which theologians have ventured to engraft upon the Mosaic account of the creation. They had asserted hitherto that the world was not more than six thousand years old, and adduced the sacred history as their warrant, while the new discoveries in geology incontestibly proved that it must have had a much earlier origin. Here, then, revelation and the facts of science were supposed to be completely at variance, and infidelity revelled in the contradiction. But Chalmers boldly cut the knot, not by questioning the veracity of Moses, but the correctness of his interpreters; and he asked, "Does Moses ever say that there was not an interval of many ages betwixt the first act of creation, described in the first verse of the book of Genesis, and said to have been performed at the beginning, and those more detailed operations, the account of which commences at the second verse? Or does he ever make us to understand, that the genealogies of man went any further than to fix the antiquity of the species, and, of consequence, that they left the antiquity of the globe a free subject for the speculations of philosophers?" These questions, and the explanations with which they were followed, were of weight, as coming not only from a clergyman whose orthodoxy was now unimpeachable, but who had distinguished himself so lately in the illustration of Christian evidence;—and, perhaps, it is unnecessary to add, that the solution thus offered is the one now generally adopted. The subject of "Missions" next occupied his pen, in consequence of an article in the "Edinburgh Review," which, while giving a notice of Lichtenstein's "Travels in Southern Africa," took occasion, by lauding the Moravian missionaries, to disparage other missions, as beginning their instructions at the wrong end, while the Moravian brethren had hit upon the true expedient of first civilizing savages, and afterwards teaching them the doctrines of Christianity. Chalmers showed that, in point of fact, this statement was untrue; and proved, from the testimony of the brethren themselves, that the civilization of their savage converts was the effect, and not the cause—the sequel rather than

the prelude of Christian teaching. They had first tried the civilizing process, and most egregiously failed; they had afterwards, and at hap-hazard, read to the obdurate savages the account of our Saviour's death from the Evangelists, by which they were arrested and moved in an instant; and this process, which the Moravians had afterwards adopted, was the secret of the wonderful success of their missions. These were subjects into which his heart fully entered, as a Christian divine and a lover of science, and therefore he brought to each of these productions his usual careful research and persuasive eloquence. It is not, however, to be thought that amidst such congenial occupations the intellectual labour necessary for the duties of the pulpit was in any way remitted. On the contrary, many of his sermons, prepared at this period for the simple rustics of Kilmany, were afterwards preached before crowds of the most accomplished of our island in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, and afterwards committed to the press, almost without any alteration. The highest eloquence is the utterance of a full heart that cannot be silent. And such was the eloquence of Chalmers. During three years he had been intensely occupied with the most important and soul-engrossing of all themes: they brought to his awakened perceptions the charm of a new existence; and these sermons were but the expressions of love, and wonder, and delight, which every fresh discovery of that new existence evolved from him. And where, in such a state, was the need of listening thousands, or the deep-muttered thunder of popular applause? He must thus write though no eye should peruse the writing, and give it utterance although it were only to the trees or the winds. And when such productions are spoken before living men, the orator, while his auditors appear before him in glimpses and at intervals, does not pause to gauge their intellectuality, their rank, or their numbers. He only feels that they are immortal beings, and that he is commissioned to proclaim to them the tidings of eternity.

But the time had now arrived when this training, in the course of Providence, was to be turned to its proper account, and such powers to find their proper field of action. His renown as a preacher, by which all Fifeshire was stirred, had gone abroad, while his literary reputation and intellectual powers were stamped by his published productions beyond the possibility of doubt or cavil. In this case, too, as was most fitting, he did not seek, but was sought. Dr. Macgill, minister of the Tron church, Glasgow, had been translated to the divinity chair of the university of that city, and the task of finding a successor to the vacant pulpit devolved upon the town-council. The name of the minister of Kilmany was forthwith heard, and, after due consideration, the usual overtures were made to him to accept the charge of the Tron church. But tempting though such an offer might be, the rural minister demurred and held back. He could not persuade himself to abandon a people whom his lately-awakened spirit had inspired with a kindred sympathy, and who were wont every Sabbath to throng their long-deserted pews with such eager solicitude, and listen to his teaching with such solemn interest. But, above all, the secularities of a great city charge, and the inroads which it would make upon his time and attention, filled him with alarm. "I know of instances," he wrote in reply, "where a clergyman has been called from the country to town for his talent at preaching; and when he got there, they so belaboured him with the drudgery of their institutions, that they smothered and extinguished the very talent for which they had adopted him. The purity and independence of the clerical office are not sufficiently respected in great towns. He comes among them a clergyman,

and they make a mere churchwarden of him." His objections were at length overruled, and on being elected by a large majority of the town-council of Glasgow, he signified his acceptance, and was inducted into his important charge on the 21st July, 1815, when he had reached the matured and vigorous age of thirty-five. It was a day of impatient expectation in our metropolis of manufactures and commerce, as after his acceptance, and four months previous to his admission, its citizens had enjoyed the opportunity of hearing with their own ears a specimen of that eloquence which hitherto they had known only by report. The occasion was the annual meeting of the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, held at Glasgow, before which Chalmers was appointed to preach; and the feeling of the vast multitude that sat electrified beneath his wondrous power might have been expressed in the language of the Queen of Sheba: They had heard of it only, and could not believe; but now they found that half of the truth had not been told them.

As soon as he had got fairly located in Glasgow, Chalmers found that, notwithstanding all his previous stipulations to that effect, his time was no longer to be his own. But still worse than this, he found that it was to be frittered away in ten thousand frivolous occupations with which, he justly thought, his sacred office had nothing to do. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when we find him thus writing on the subject: "This, Sir, is a wonderful place; and I am half-entertained, half-provoked by some of the peculiarities of its people. The peculiarity which bears hardest upon me is, the incessant demand they have upon all occasions for the personal attendance of the ministers. They must have four to every funeral, or they do not think that it has been genteelly gone through. They must have one or more to all the committees of all the societies. They must fall in at every procession. They must attend examinations innumerable, and eat of the dinners consequent upon these examinations. They have a niche assigned them in almost every public doing, and that niche must be filled up by them, or the doing loses all its solemnity in the eyes of the public. There seems to be a superstitious charm in the very sight of them; and such is the manifold officiality with which they are covered, that they must be paraded among all the meetings and all the institutions." It was not without cause that he thus complained; for in coming to details, we find him at one time obliged to sit in judgment as to whether such a gutter should be bought up and covered over, or left alone as it stood; and whether ox-head soup or pork broth was the fittest diet for a poor's house; alternated, on going home, with the necessity of endorsing applications of persons wishing to follow the calling of spirit-sellers and pedlars. This, indeed, was to have "greatness thrust upon him!" But the evil had originated in Glasgow so early as the days of the covenant, when every movement was more or less connected with religion; and it was perpetuated and confirmed by the mercantile bustle that succeeded in later periods, when every merchant or shopkeeper was eager to devolve upon the minister those occupations that would have interfered with his own professional pursuits. These difficulties Chalmers was obliged to wrestle down as he best could, and at the risk of being complained of as an innovator; but a persevering course of sturdy refusal at length reduced the grievance to a manageable compass. When this was surmounted, there was still another trial to be got rid of, that originated in his own daily increasing popularity. He was now the great mark of admiration and esteem, so that all were not only eager to visit him, but to have their visits reciprocated. When these demands were also comprised within tolerable

limits, a third difficulty was to be confronted, that could not so easily be overcome, as it arose from his own parish, of which he had the oversight. That our ministers might be able, like the apostles of old, to give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word," our church had wisely appointed not only deacons to take charge of the temporalities of the congregation, but elders to assist the pastor in the visitation of the sick, and all the outdoor duties of his ecclesiastical charge. But while the work of the deaconship had become of late little more than a dead letter, the duties of the eldership had diminished almost entirely to the Sabbath collections in the church porch, and their allocation to the poor of the parish. Most truly, therefore, did a certain minister of Edinburgh, after a charity sermon, announce, in full simplicity of heart, to those who might be disposed to contribute still farther, that in going out, they would find standing at the door "the church plates, and their *concomitants* the elders." Chalmers felt that this worn-out machinery must be renewed, and restored to its former efficiency; for otherwise, in a parish containing nearly twelve thousand souls, he could be little more than its Sabbath preacher. To this important task he therefore addressed himself, and the result of his labours in the ecclesiastical organization of his parish, which were followed by general imitation, proved how justly he had appreciated the difficulties that beset a city minister, and the most effectual remedies by which they are obviated.

While he was thus contending with this "mortal coil" of secular occupation, and shuffling it off as well as he might, the pulpit preparations of the new minister evinced that it was not his own ease that he sought by this earnest desire of silence and seclusion. For it was not by mere eloquence and originality of style that his weekly sermons not only retained, but increased his reputation and efficiency; on the contrary, their depth of thought and originality of sentiment were more wonderful than their language, powerful and startling though it was. His preaching was in some measure the commencement of a new era in the history of the Scottish Church. To understand this aright, we must keep in mind the two parties into which the Church had been divided, and the solicitude they had manifested for nearly a century, to avoid every meeting except a hostile collision. On the one side was the Evangelical party, with whom the sympathies of the people were enlisted, and on the other the Moderates, who generally speaking, comprised the aristocracy, the philosophers, and the politicians of the community, men who talked of the "march of mind," and the "progress of improvement," and who thought that religion, as well as everything else, should accommodate itself to that progress. With such men the theology of our fathers was distasteful, because it was old-fashioned, and their aim was to dilute it so effectually with modern liberalism as to adapt it to the tastes and exigencies of the day. Hence the cautiousness with which they were wont, in their sermons, to avoid all such topics as election, regeneration, and the atonement, and the decided preference which they showed for those moral duties upon which man can decide and act for himself. In this way, they too often confined their teaching to those virtues on which all creeds are more or less agreed, so that sometimes it would have been difficult to divine, from the tenor of such discourses, whether the speaker was Christian, Pagan, or Infidel. With the evangelical party the case was wholly different. Eager to preach the paramount importance of faith, they were too ready to lose sight of its fruits as exemplified in action; while every mention of human virtue was apt to be condemned as legalism, self-seeking, and reliance on the covenant of

works instead of the covenant of grace. That the heavenly and divine might be everything, the human was reduced to nothing; and to exalt the all-in-all sufficiency of redemption, man was to sit still, not only under its present coming, but also its future influences. And to impress upon their hearers more fully the necessity of this redemption, an odious picture was generally drawn of human nature, in which all that is helpless, and worthless, and villanous, was heaped together indiscriminately, and made to constitute a picture of man in his original condition. In this way, either party diverged from the other, the one towards Socinianism, and the other to Antinomianism, so that it was sometimes hard to tell which of these aberrations was the worst; while of their flocks it might too often be said—

“The hungry sheep look'd up, and were not fed.”

It would be insulting to ask which of these two parties Chalmers followed as a public spiritual teacher. His was a mind not likely to be allured either by the shrivelled philosophy of the one, or the caricatured Calvinism of the other. He rejected both, and adopted for himself a course which was based upon the fulness of revelation itself, instead of the exclusive one-sided nook of a body of mere religionists; a course which reconciled and harmonized the anomalies of every-day reality with the unerring declarations of Scripture. Thus, he could not see that every man at his birth was inevitably a liar, a murderer, and a villain. Instead of this, there was such a thing as innate virtue; and men might be patriots, philanthropists, and martyrs, even without being Christians. And here he drew such pictures of the natural man in his free unconstrained nobleness—such delineations of disinterestedness, humanity, integrity, and self-denial welling forth from hearts that were still unrenewed, as Plato might have heard with enthusiasm, and translated into his own richest Attic eloquence. And was not all this true? Was it not daily exhibited, not only in our empire at large, but even in the mercantile communities of that city in which his lot had now been cast? But while the self-complacent legalist was thus carried onward delighted, and regaled with such descriptions of the innate nobleness of human character as his own teachers had never furnished, he was suddenly brought to an awful pause by the same resistless eloquence. The preacher proceeded to show that still these words were an incontestable immutable verity, “There is none righteous, no not one.” For in spite of all this excellence, the unrenewed heart was still at enmity with God, and in all its doings did nothing at his command or for his sake. And therefore, however valuable this excellence might be for time and the world, it was still worthless for eternity. It was of the earth, earthy, and would pass away with the earth. It sought a requital short of heaven, and even already had obtained its reward.

An event soon occurred after the arrival of Mr., now Dr., Chalmers in Glasgow, by which his reputation as a preacher was no longer to be confined to Scotland, but diffused over the world, wherever the English language is known. We allude to his well-known “Astronomical Discourses,” which, of all his writings, will perhaps be the most cherished by posterity. It was the custom of the city clergymen to preach every Thursday in rotation in the Tron church; and as there were only eight ministers, the turn of each arrived after an interval of two months. Dr. Chalmers took his share in this duty, for the first time, on the 15th November, 1815, and commenced with the first lecture of the astronomical series, which he followed up during his turn in these week-day services, for the year 1816. To those who have only read these discourses, it would be enough

to say, in the words of *Æschines*, "What would you have said if you had seen him discharge all this thunder-storm of eloquence?" They were published at the commencement of 1817; and the avidity with which they were read is shown by the fact, that 6000 copies were disposed of in a month, and nearly 20,000 within the course of the year. Nothing like it had occurred in the publication of sermons either in England or Scotland; and while the most illiterate were charmed with the production, the learned, the scientific, and the critical, read, admired, and were convinced. London would not rest until it had seen and heard the living man; and Dr. Chalmers was invited to preach the anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society. Thither he accordingly went, and delivered a discourse in Surrey chapel, on the 14th May. The service was to commence at eleven, but so early as seven in the morning that vast building of 3000 sittings was crowded, while thousands of disappointed comers were obliged to go away. An account of what followed, written home by Mr. Smith, one of his friends, who accompanied him from Glasgow, is thus expressed: "I write under the nervouanness of having heard and witnessed the most astonishing display of human talent that perhaps ever commanded sight or hearing. Dr. Chalmers has just finished the discourse before the Missionary Society. All my expectations were overwhelmed in the triumph of it. Nothing from the Tron pulpit ever exceeded it, nor did he ever more arrest and wonder-work his auditors. I had a full view of the whole place. The carrying forward of minds never was so visible to me; a constant assent of the head from the whole people accompanied all his paragraphs, and the breathlessness of expectation permitted not the beating of a heart to agitate the stillness." Other demands for sermons followed; for, in the words of "*Wilberforce's Diary*," "all the world was wild about Dr. Chalmers." Even Canning, who was one of his hearers, and who was melted into tears by his sermon for the Hibernian Society, declared that, "notwithstanding the northern accent and unpolished manner of the speaker, he had never been so arrested by any kind of oratory." "The tartan," he added, "beats us all." But the best and most valuable testimony was that of the Rev. Robert Hall, himself the Chalmers of England, whose generous heart rejoiced in the eclipse which he had just sustained by the arrival of his northern brother; and in writing to him, after his return to Glasgow, he says: "It would be difficult not to congratulate you on the unrivalled and unbounded popularity which attended you in the metropolis. . . . The attention which your sermons have excited is probably unequalled in modern literature; and it must be a delightful reflection, that you are advancing the cause of religion in innumerable multitudes of your fellow-creatures, whose faces you will never behold till the last day."

It is now time to turn from Dr. Chalmers in his study and pulpit, to Dr. Chalmers in his hard-working life of every-day usefulness. And here we shall find no dreaming theorist, contented with fireside musing upon the best plans of ameliorating the evils of society, or daunted midway by the difficulties of the attempt. Considering what he had already done, there was none who could more justly have claimed the full privileges of literary leisure and retirement. But when he threw off the throng of extraneous occupation that surrounded him, it was only that he might have room for equally arduous employment, in which the "full proof of his ministry" more especially consisted. It was not enough that he should see and address his congregation; he must visit the houses, examine the families, and become acquainted with the individuals of

which that congregation was composed. He must also bring himself in contact with those of his parish who belonged to no congregation—the vicious, the reckless, the ignorant, and the poor—and endeavour, by his favourite process of “excavation,” to bring them out from their murky concealments into the light of day, and the elevating influence of gospel ordinances. Twelve thousand souls to be visited!—but is not a soul worth looking after? To work therefore he went as soon as he became minister of the Tron church parish, undergoing an amount of bodily labour such as few would have cared to encounter, but resolute not to abandon the task until it was completed. A few weeks thus employed enabled him to ascertain what evils existed, as well as what remedies should be applied. It was necessary that the destitute and the outcast of his parish should be frequently visited, and for the performance of this duty he infused his own active spirit into the eldership by which he was surrounded. The fearful ignorance that was accumulating among the young of the lower orders must be dispersed; and, for this purpose, he organized a society among his congregation for the establishment of Sabbath-schools in the parish. These schools became so numerous, and so well attended, that in two years they numbered 1200 children, receiving regular religious instruction. A single class furnished the necessary amount of pupils for a school; and the teacher who visited its families for the purpose of bringing them out, was taught to watch over that little locality as his own especial parish.

This course of daily labour and visitation had its prospective, as well as immediate benefits. Dr. Chalmers had hitherto witnessed poverty and its results only upon a small scale. It was here a family, and there an individual, over the extent of a country parish; and for these cases, private benevolence and the contributions at the church door had generally been found sufficient. But now he was brought into close contact with poverty and destitution acting upon society in thousands, and producing an aggravation of crime, as well as misery, such as his rural experience had never witnessed. For all this, however, he was not wholly unprepared. He had already studied the subject in the abstract, and he found that now was the time, and here the field, to bring his theories on the subject into full operation. His idea, from all he witnessed, was but the more strongly confirmed, that the simple parochial apparatus of Scotland, so effectual for the relief of a village or country parish, would be equally efficacious for a populous city, and that recourse to poors-rates and compulsory charity would only foster the evil which it aimed to cure. This conviction he now endeavoured to impress, not only in conversation and by public speeches, but also by his articles on “Pauperism” in the “Edinburgh Review,” and a series of essays, which he afterwards published, on the “Civic and Christian Economy of Large Towns.” But to go to the very source of poverty, and strike at once at the root, was his chief aim; and this could only be accomplished by indoctrinating the masses of a crowded city with the principles of Christian industry, independence, and morality. Even this, too, the parochial system had contemplated, by an adequate provision of church accommodation and instruction; but, unfortunately, while the population of the country had been nearly trebled, the church provision had remained stationary. The consequence was, that even in his own parish of the Tron, there were not a third who attended any church, notwithstanding the additional accommodation which dissent had furnished. And such, or still worse, was the state of matters over the whole of Glasgow. What he therefore wanted was “twenty more churches,

and twenty more ministers," for that city alone; and this *desideratum* he boldly announced in his sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte in 1817. Such a conclusion was but the unavoidable result of a train of premises to which all were ready to assent, while the demand itself, instead of being extravagant was considerably short of the emergency. And yet it was clamoured at, and cried down in every form of argument and ridicule, as the wildest of all benevolent extravagancies, and even the addition of a single church, which the magistrates had decided a few months previous, was thought too much. But strong in the confidence of truth, Dr. Chalmers held fast to his much decried doctrine, until he had the satisfaction of finding his church extension principle generally adopted, and not twenty, but two hundred additional churches erected in our towns and cities, to attest the soundness of his argument, and reward the zeal with which he had urged it.

The one additional church to which we have adverted, was that of St. John's, of which he was elected to be minister, with a new parish attached to it of ten thousand persons, almost entirely operatives. It redounds to the honour of the magistrates and town council of Glasgow to state, that this erection of a new parish and church, was for the purpose of giving Dr. Chalmers full opportunity of testing the parochial principle as applied to large towns; and that for this purpose they freed him from those restrictions which had gathered upon the old city charges, and conceded to him and his kirk session a separate independent parochial jurisdiction. The building, being finished, was opened on the 26th September, 1819, and crowded by its new parishioners, who had now their own church and minister, while the latter met them with equal ardour, and commenced at once the duties of his new sphere. He was ably seconded by his elders, a numerous body of active, intelligent, devoted men, and by the deacons, whose office was restored to its original efficiency under his superintendence; and as each had his own particular district to which his labours were confined, every family and every individual in the new parish, containing a population of ten thousand, had his own spiritual and temporal condition more or less attended to. In addition to these aids, he was soon surrounded by eighty Sabbath-school teachers, each superintending the religious education of the children belonging to his own little locality. These labours were not long continued until another great parochial want called forth the attention of Dr. Chalmers. It was the state of secular education, which, defective as it was throughout Glasgow in general, was peculiarly so in the new parish, whose population chiefly consisted of weavers, labourers, and factory-workers—persons who were unable to obtain a good education for their children, notwithstanding its cheapness as compared with that of England. On account of this, it was soon found in the Sabbath-schools that many of the children could not read a single verse of Scripture without such hammering as to make its meaning unintelligible. Something must be done, and that instantly, to counteract the evil. But mere charity schools and gratis education were an abomination to the doctor, who well knew that that which is got for nothing is generally reckoned worth nothing, and treated accordingly. The best education at the cheapest rate—the independence of the poor secured, while their children were efficiently taught—this was the happy medium which he sought, and which he found ready to his hand in the plan of Scottish parochial education. Let such a salary be secured for the teacher, that an active and accomplished man will find it worth his while to devote himself to the work; but, at the same time, let the

small school-fees of the pupils be such as to secure the feeling of personal independence, and make them value the instruction for which a price is exacted. An "education committee" was therefore established for St. John's; subscriptions were set on foot for the erection and endowment of schools; and when a sufficient sum was procured, a desirable site was found for the building of the first school. The ground was the property of the College, and Dr. Chalmers repaired to its head, the venerable Principal Taylor, to obtain it upon such cheap terms as the case justly demanded. "Ah!" said the Principal, shaking his head, "we have been talking about establishing parochial schools in Glasgow for these twenty years." "Yes," replied Dr. Chalmers, "but now we are going to do the thing, not to talk about it; we are going to take the labour of talking and planning completely off your hands." This good-humoured application was successful; and by the middle of 1820 the school was finished, and the work of teaching commenced, under two efficient schoolmasters. Another school was soon erected by the same prompt liberality that had supplied funds for the first, and conducted also by two able masters. The four teachers had each a fixed salary of £25 per annum, and a free house, in addition to the fees of 2s. per quarter for reading, and 3s. for reading, writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping, while the right of admission was limited to parishioners exclusively. There was full need of this restriction, for so highly were the benefits of this system of education appreciated, that the two schools had 419 pupils. Even when the doctor left Glasgow, also, the work was still going on through fresh contributions and erections, so that about 800 children belonging to the parish were furnished with the means of a complete and liberal education at a small expense. Such a heavy and complicated amount of toil as all this organization involved, would have been impossible for any one man, however energetic, and even Dr. Chalmers himself would have sunk beneath the load before his four years' experiment in St. John's had expired, had it not been for the efficient aid which he received from his assistant, the Rev. Edward Irving. Contemplating the vast amount of work which he had proposed to himself in his trial of the parochial system as applied to large towns, it had been considerably resolved that a regular assistant should be allowed him in the task; and by a train of fortuitous circumstances, that office was devolved upon a congenial spirit—one to the full as wonderful in his own way as Dr. Chalmers, but whose career was afterwards to be so erratic, and finally so mournful and disastrous. At present, however, the mind of Irving, although swelling with high aspirations, was regulated, controlled, and directed by the higher intellect and gentler spirit of his illustrious principal, so that his vast powers, both physical and mental, were brought fully to bear upon their proper work. Nothing, indeed, could be a more complete contrast than the genuine simplicity and rustic bearing of Dr. Chalmers, compared with the colossal form, Salvator Rosa countenance, and startling mode of address that distinguished his gifted assistant. But different as they were in external appearance and manner, their purpose and work were the same, and both were indefatigable in advancing the intellectual and spiritual interests of the parish of St. John's. Little, indeed, could it have been augured of these two remarkable men, that in a few years after they would be the founders of two churches, and that these churches should be so different in their doctrines, character, and bearings.

After having laboured four years in the ministerial charge of St. John's parish, a new change was to take place in the life of Dr. Chalmers, by the ful-

filment of one of his earliest aspirations. It will be remembered, that in the period of his youth, when he was about to commence his ministry in the parish of Kilmany, his earnest wishes were directed towards a chair in the university of St. Andrews; and now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, his desires were to be gratified. The professorship of Moral Philosophy in that university had become vacant, and it was felt by the professors that none was so well fitted to occupy the charge, and increase the literary reputation of the college, as Dr. Chalmers, their honoured *alumnus*, whose reputation was now diffused over Europe. The offer, also, which was neither of his own seeking nor expecting, was tendered in the most respectful manner. Such an application from his *alma mater*, with which his earliest and most affectionate remembrances were connected, did not solicit him in vain; and after signifying his consent, he was unanimously elected to the office on the 18th January, 1823. Six different applications had previously been made to him from various charges since his arrival in Glasgow, but these he had steadfastly refused, for he felt that there he had a work to accomplish, to which every temptation of ecclesiastical promotion or literary ease must be postponed. But now the case was different. The machinery which he had set in motion with such immense exertion, might now be carried on by an ordinary amount of effort, and therefore could be intrusted to a meaner hand. His own health had suffered by the labour, and needed both repose and change. He felt, also, that a new career of usefulness in the cause of religion might be opened up to him by the occupation of a university chair, and the opportunities of literary leisure which it would afford him. And no change of self-seeking, so liberally applied in cases of clerical translation, could be urged in the present instance; as the transition was from a large to a smaller income; and from a thronging city, where he stood in the full blaze of his reputation, to a small and remote county town, where the highest merit would be apt to sink into obscurity. Much grumbling, indeed, there was throughout Glasgow at large, and not a little disappointment expressed by the kirk session of St. John's, when the proposed movement was announced; but the above-mentioned reasons had at last their proper weight, and the final parting was one of mutual tenderness and esteem. The effect of his eight years' labours in that city is thus summed up by his eloquent biographer, the Rev. Dr. Hanna:—
“When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, by the great body of the upper classes of society evangelical doctrines were nauseated and despised; when he left it, even by those who did not bow to their influence, these doctrines were acknowledged to be indeed the very doctrines of the Bible. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the eye of the multitude evangelism stood confounded with a drivelling sanctimoniousness, or a sour-minded ascetism; when he left it, from all such false associations the Christianity of the New Testament stood clearly and nobly redeemed. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, for nearly a century the magistrates and town council had exercised the city patronage in a spirit determinately anti-evangelical; when he left it, so complete was the revolution which had been effected, that from that time forward none but evangelical clergymen were appointed by the city patrons. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, there and elsewhere over Scotland, there were many most devoted clergymen of the Establishment who had given themselves up wholly to the ministry of the Word and to prayer, but there was not one in whose faith and practice week-day ministrations had the place or power which he assigned to them; when he left it he had exhibited such a model of fidelity,

diligence, and activity in all departments of ministerial labour, as told finally upon the spirit and practice of the whole ministry of Scotland. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, unnoticed thousands of the city population were sinking into ignorance, infidelity, and vice, and his eye was the first in this country to foresee to what a fearful magnitude that evil, if suffered to grow on unchecked, would rise; when he left it, his ministry in that city remained behind him, a permanent warning to a nation which has been but slow to learn that the greatest of all questions, both for statesmen and for churchmen, is the condition of those untaught and degraded thousands who swarm now around the base of the social edifice, and whose brawny arms may yet grasp its pillars to shake or to destroy. When Dr. Chalmers came to Glasgow, in the literary circles of the Scottish metropolis a thinly disguised infidelity sat on the seats of greatest influence, and smiled or scoffed at a vital energetic faith in the great and distinctive truths of revelation, while widely over his native land the spirit of a frigid indifference to religion prevailed; when he left it, the current of public sentiment had begun to set in a contrary direction; and although it took many years, and the labour of many other hands, to carry that healthful change onward to maturity, yet I believe it is not over-estimating it to say, that it was mainly by Dr. Chalmers' ministry in Glasgow—by his efforts at this period in the pulpit and through the press—that the tide of national opinion and sentiment was turned."

Dr. Chalmers delivered his farewell sermon on November 9 (1823), and on this occasion such was the crowding, not only of his affectionate flock, but admirers from every quarter, that the church, which was built to accommodate 1,700 hearers, on this occasion contained twice that number. On the 11th, a farewell dinner was given to him by 340 gentlemen; and at the close, when he rose to retire, all the guests stood up at once to honour his departure. "Gentlemen," said the doctor, overwhelmed by this last token, and turning repeatedly to every quarter, "I cannot utter a hundredth part of what I feel—but I will do better—I will bear it all away." He was gone, and all felt as if the head of wisdom, and heart of cordial affection and Christian love, and tongue of commanding and persuasive eloquence, that hitherto had been the life and soul of Glasgow, had departed with him. If anything could have consoled him after such a parting, it must have been the reception that welcomed his arrival in St. Andrews, where he delivered his introductory lecture seven days after, the signal that his new career of action had begun.

So closely had Dr. Chalmers adhered to his clerical duties in Glasgow to the last, that on his arrival in St. Andrews, his whole stock for the commencement of the course of Moral Philosophy consisted of only a few days' lectures. But nothing can more gratify an energetic mind that has fully tested its own powers, than the luxury of such a difficulty. It is no wonder, therefore, to find him thus writing in the latter part of the session: "I shall be lecturing for six weeks yet, and am very nearly from hand-to-mouth with my preparations. I have the prospect of winning the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half-a-neck; but I like the employment vastly." Most of these lectures were afterwards published as they were written, a sure indication of the deeply-concentrated power and matchless diligence with which he must have occupied the winter months. It was no mere student auditory, also, for which he had exclusively to write during each day the lecture of the morrow; for the benches of the classroom were crowded by the intellectual from every quarter, who had repaired to St. Andrews to hear the doctor's eloquence upon a new theme. Even when the

session was over, it brought no such holiday season as might have been expected; for he was obliged to prepare for the great controversy upon the plurality question, which, after having undergone its course in Presbytery and Synod, was finally to be settled in the General Assembly, the opening of which was now at hand. The point at issue, upon which the merits of the case now rested, was, whether in consistency with the laws of the Church, Dr. Macfarlan could hold conjunctly the office of principal of the university of Glasgow, and minister of the Inner High church in the same city? On this occasion, Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Thomson spoke against the connection of offices with their wonted eloquence; but the case was so completely prejudged and settled, that no earthly eloquence could have availed, and the question in favour of the double admission was carried by a majority of twenty-six. In much of the proceedings of this Assembly Dr. Chalmers took a part, among which was the proposal of erecting a new Gaelic church in Glasgow. This measure he ably and successfully advocated, so that it passed by a large majority. Only a fortnight after the Assembly had closed he was in Glasgow, and more busy there if possible than ever, having engaged to preach for six consecutive Sabbaths in the chapel which, at his instigation, had been erected as an auxiliary to the parish church of St. John's. Here, however, he was not to rest; for, while thus occupied with his former flock, he received an urgent invitation to preach at Stockport, for the benefit of the Sabbath-school established there—a very different school from those of Scotland for the same purpose, being built at a great expense, and capable of accommodating 4000 children. He complied; but on reaching England he was mortified, and even disgusted to find, that the whole service was to be one of those half-religious half-theatrical exhibitions, so greatly in vogue in our own day, in which the one-half of the service seems intended to mock the other. He was to conduct the usual solemnities of prayer and preaching, and, so far, the whole affair was to partake of the religious character; but, in addition to himself as principal performer, a hundred instrumental and vocal artistes were engaged for the occasion, who were to rush in at the close of the pulpit ministrations with all the secularities of a concert or oratorio. The doctor was indignant, and remonstrated with the managers of the arrangement, but it was too late. All he could obtain was, that these services should be kept apart from each other, instead of being blended together, as had been originally intended. Accordingly, he entered the pulpit, conducted the solemn services as he was wont, and preached to a congregation of 3500 auditors, after which he retired, and left the managers to their own devices; and before he had fairly escaped from the building, a tremendous volley of bassoons, flutes, violins, bass viols, and serpents, burst upon his ear, and accelerated the speed of his departure. The collection upon this occasion amounted to £400,—but might it not be said to have been won too dearly?

The course of next winter at St. Andrews was commenced under the most favourable auspices, and more than double the number of students attended the Moral Philosophy class-room than had been wont in former sessions. Still true, moreover, to his old intellectual predilections, he also opened a separate class for Political Economy, which he found to be still more attractive to the students than the science of Ethics. Nothing throughout could exceed the enthusiasm of the pupils, and their affection for their amiable and distinguished preceptor, who was frequently as ready to walk with them and talk with them as to lecture to them. Thus the course of 1824-25 went onward to

its close, after which he again commenced his duties as a member of the General Assembly, and entered with ardour into the subject of church plurality, upon which he spoke sometimes during the course of discussion. It was during this conflict that a frank generous avowal was made by Dr. Chalmers that electrified the whole meeting. On the second day of the debate, a member upon the opposite side quoted from an anonymous pamphlet the declaration of its author's experience, that "after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." When this was read, every eye was turned to Dr. Chalmers; it was the pamphlet he had published twenty years ago, when the duties of the ministerial office appeared to him in a very different light than they now did. He considered its resurrection at such a period as a solemn call to humiliation and confession, and from this unpalatable duty he did not for a moment shrink. Rising in his place, he declared, that the production was his own. "I now confess myself," he added, "to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable assembly." After stating the time and the occasion in which it originated, he went on in the following words:—"I was at that time, Sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and, feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet, to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! Sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying, that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I panned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, Sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But *then*, Sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes*—I thought not of the littleness of time—I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity."

Hitherto the course of Dr. Chalmers at St. Andrews had been comfortable and tranquil; but this state was to continue no longer. It would have been strange, indeed, if one who so exclusively enjoyed the popularity of the town and its colleges, should have been permitted to enjoy it without annoyance. In the first instance, too, his grievances arose from that very evil of church plurality of which he had at first been the tolerant advocate, and afterwards the uncompromising antagonist. A vacancy having occurred in the city parish of St. Leonards, the charge was bestowed, not upon a free unencumbered man, but upon one of the professors, whose college labours were enough for all his time and talent; and as he was unacceptable as a preacher, many of the students, among whom an unwonted earnestness had of late been awakened upon the important subject of religion, were desirous of enjoying a more efficient ministry. But an old law of the college made it imperative that they should give their Sabbath attendance at the church of St. Leonards; and when they petitioned for liberty to select their own place for worship and religious instruction, their application was refused, although it was backed by that of their parents. It was natural that Dr. Chalmers should become their advocate; and almost equally natural that in requital he should be visited by the collective wrath of his brethren of the *Senatus*. They had discerned that the

request of the students was unreasonable and mutinous; and turning upon the doctor himself, they represented him as one given up to new-fangled ideas of Christian liberty, and hostile to the interests of the Established Church. A still more vexatious subject of discussion arose from the appropriation of the college funds, the surplus of which, instead of being laid out to repair the dilapidated buildings, as had been intended, was annually divided among the professors after the current expenses of the classes had been defrayed. Dr. Chalmers thought this proceeding not only an illegal stretch of authority on the part of the professors, but also a perilous temptation; and on finding that they would not share in his scruples, he was obliged to adopt the only conscientious step that remained—he refused his share of the spoil during the five years of his continuance at St. Andrews. Thus the case continued until 1827, when the royal commission that had been appointed for the examination of the Scottish universities arrived at St. Andrews, and commenced their searching inquest. Dr. Chalmers, who hoped on this occasion that the evils of which he complained would be redressed, underwent in his turn a long course of examination, in which he fearlessly laid open the whole subject, and proposed the obvious remedy. But in this complaint he stood alone; the commissioners listened to his suggestions, and left the case as they found it. Another department of college reform, which had for some time been the object of his anxious solicitude, was passed over in the same manner. It concerned the necessary training of the pupils previous to their commencement of a college education. At our Scottish universities the students were admitted at a mere school-boy age, when they knew scarcely any Latin, and not a word of Greek; and thus the classical education of our colleges was such as would have been fitter for a mere whipping-school, in which these languages had to be commenced *ab initio*, than seats of learning in which such attainments were to be matured and perfected. To rectify this gross defect, the proposal of Dr. Chalmers suggested the erection of gymnasia attached to the colleges, where these youths should undergo a previous complete training in the mere mechanical parts of classical learning, and thus be fitted, on their entrance into college, for the highest departments of Greek and Roman scholarship. But here, also, his appeals were ineffectual; and at the present day, and in the country of Buchanan and Melville, the university classes of Latin and Greek admit such pupils, and exhibit such defects, as would excite the contempt of an Eton or Westminster school-boy.

It was well for Dr. Chalmers that amidst all this hostility and disappointment he had formed for himself a satisfactory source of consolation. At his arrival in St. Andrews, and even amidst the toil of preparation for the duties of his new office, he had longed for the relief that would be afforded by the communication of religious instruction; for in becoming a professor of science, he had not ceased to be a minister of the gospel. As soon, therefore, as the bustle of the first session was ended, he threw himself with alacrity into the lowly office of a Sabbath-school teacher. He went to work also in his own methodical fashion, by selecting a district of the town to which his labours were to be confined, visiting its families one by one, and inviting the children to join the class which he was about to form for meeting at his own house on the Sabbath evenings. And there, in the midst of these poor children, sat one of the most profound and eloquent of men; one at whose feet the great, the wise, and the accomplished had been proud to sit; while the striking picture is heightened

by the fact, that even for these humble prelections and examinations, his questions were written out, and his explanations prepared, as if he had been to confront the General Assembly, or the British Senate. In the hands of a talented artist would not such a subject furnish a true Christian counterpart to that of Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage? At the third session this duty was exchanged for one equally congenial, and still more important, arising from the request of some of the parents of his college pupils, that he would take charge of the religious education of their sons, by receiving them into his house on the evenings of the Sabbath. With a desire so closely connected with his professional office through the week he gladly complied, after having intrusted his Sabbath-school children to careful teachers, who laboured under his direction. These student meetings, at first, were assembled around his fireside, in the character of a little family circle, and as such he wished it to continue; but so greatly was the privilege valued, and so numerous were the applications for admission, that the circle gradually expanded into a class, which his ample drawing-room could scarcely contain. These examples were not long in producing their proper fruits. The students of St. Andrews, animated by such a pattern, bestirred themselves in the division of the town into districts, and the formation of Sabbath-schools; and in the course of their explorations for the purpose, they discovered, even in that ancient seat of learning and city of colleges, an amount of ignorance and religious indifference such as they had never suspected to be lying around them till now. Another and an equally natural direction into which the impulse was turned, was that of missionary exertion; and on Dr. Chalmers having accepted the office of president of a missionary society, the students caught new ardour from the addresses which he delivered, and the reports he read to them at the meetings. The consequence was, that a missionary society was formed for the students themselves, in which a third of those belonging to the united colleges were speedily enrolled. It was a wonderful change in St. Andrews, so long the very Lethe of religious indifference and unconcern, and among its pupils, so famed among the other colleges of Scotland for riot, recklessness, and dissipation. And the result showed that this was no fever-fit of passing emotion, but a permanent and substantial reality. For many of those students who most distinguished themselves by their zeal for missions, were also distinguished as diligent talented scholars, and attained the highest honours of the university. Not a few of them now occupy our pulpits, and are among the most noted in the church for zeal, eloquence, and ministerial diligence and fidelity. And more than all, several of them were already in training for that high missionary office whose claims they so earnestly advocated, and are now to be found labouring in the good work in the four quarters of the world. Speaking of Dr. Chalmers at this period, one of the most accomplished of his pupils, and now the most distinguished of our missionaries, thus writes:—"Perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity connected with the whole of this transformative process, was the indirect, rather than the direct, mode in which the effectuating influence was exerted. It did not result so much from any direct and formal exhortation on the part of Dr. Chalmers, as from the general awakening and suggestive power of his lectures, the naked force of his own personal piety, and the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example. He carried about with him a better than talismanic virtue, by which all who came in contact with him were almost unconsciously influenced, moulded, and impelled to imitate. He did not formally assemble his students, and in so many

set terms formally exhort them to constitute themselves into missionary societies, open Sabbath-schools, commence prayer-meetings, and such like. No; in the course of his lectures, he communicated something of his own life and warmth, and expounded principles of which objects like the preceding were some of the natural exponents and developments. He then faithfully exemplified the principles propounded in his own special actings and general conduct. He was known to be a man of prayer; he was acknowledged to be a man of active benevolence. He was observed to be going about from house to house, exhorting adults on the concerns of their salvation, and devoting his energies to the humble task of gathering around him a Sabbath-school. He was seen to be the sole reviver of an all but defunct missionary society. All these, and other such like traits of character and conduct, being carefully noted, how could they who intensely admired, revered, and loved the man, do less than endeavour, at however great a distance, to tread in his footsteps, and imitate so noble a pattern?"

Such was the tenor of his course in St. Andrews, until he was about to be transferred into another and more important field. The first effort made for this removal was an offer on the part of government of the charge of the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, which had now become vacant by the death of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff. To succeed such a man, and hold such a clerical appointment, which was one of the best in Scotland, were no ordinary temptations; but Dr. Chalmers was now fully persuaded that the highest, most sacred, and most efficient office in the Church, consisted in the training of a learned and pious ministry, and therefore he refused the offer, notwithstanding the very inferior emoluments of his present charge, and the annoyances with which it was surrounded. Another vacancy shortly afterwards occurred that was more in coincidence with his principles. This was the divinity chair of the university of Edinburgh, that had become vacant by the resignation of Dr. Ritchie, and to this charge he was unanimously elected by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh, on the 31st October, 1827. The appointment on this occasion was cordially accepted, for it transferred him from the limited sphere of a county town to the capital; and from a professorship of ethics, the mere handmaid of theology, to that of theology itself. As he had not to commence his duties until the beginning of the next year's session, he had thus a considerable interval for preparation, which he employed to the uttermost. The subjects of lecturing, too, which comprised Natural Theology and the Evidences of Christianity, had for years been his favourite study. His class-room, as soon as the course commenced, was inundated, not merely with regular students, but with clergymen of every church, and gentlemen of every literary or scientific profession, all eager to hear systematic theology propounded by such a teacher. All this was well; but when a similar torrent attempted to burst into his domestic retirement, and sweep away his opportunities of preparation, he was obliged to repel it with unwonted bluntness. "I have now," he said, "a written paper in my lobby, shown by my servant to all and sundry who are making mere calls of attention, which is just telling them, in a civil way, to go about their business. If anything will check intrusion this at length must." During this session, also, Dr. Chalmers was not only fully occupied with his class, but also with the great question of Catholic emancipation, which was now on the eve of a final decision. A public meeting was held in Edinburgh, on the 14th of March, to petition in favour of the measure; and it was there that he advocated the bill in favour of emancipation, in one of the most elo-

quent speeches he had ever uttered. The effect was tremendous, and at its close the whole assembly started to their feet, waved their hats, and rent the air with deafening shouts of applause for several minutes. Even the masters and judges of eloquence who were present were similarly moved, and Lord Jeffrey declared it as his opinion, that never had eloquence produced a greater effect upon a popular assembly, and that he could not believe more had ever been done by the oratory of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, or Sheridan.

After the college session had ended, Dr. Chalmers was not allowed to retire into his beloved seclusion. Indeed, his opinions were now of such weight with the public mind, and his services so valuable, that he was considered as a public property, and used accordingly. It was for this cause that our statesmen who advocated Catholic emancipation were so earnest that he should give full publicity to his sentiments on the subject. When this duty was discharged, another awaited him: it was to repair to London, and unfold his views on pauperism before a committee of the House of Commons, with reference to the proposal of introducing the English system of poor-laws into Ireland. During this visit to London, he had the honour of being appointed, without any solicitation on his part, one of the chaplains of his Majesty for Scotland. On returning home another visit to London was necessary, as one of the members of a deputation sent from the Church of Scotland to congratulate William IV. on his accession to the throne. It is seldom that our Scottish presbyters are to be found in kings' palaces, so that the ordeal of a royal presentation is generally sufficient to puzzle their wisest. Thus felt Dr. Chalmers upon the occasion; and in the amusing letters which he wrote home to his children, he describes with full glee the difficulty he experienced from his cocked hat, and the buttons of his court dress. The questions put to him at this presentation were of solemn import, as issuing from kingly lips: "Do you reside constantly in Edinburgh?" "How long do you remain in town?" He returned to the labours of his class room, and the preparation of his elaborate work on "Political Economy," which had employed his thoughts for years, and was published at the beginning of 1832. This care of authorship in behalf of principles which he knew to be generally unpalatable, was further aggravated by the passing of the Reform Bill, to which he was decidedly hostile. After his work on "Political Economy," which fared as he had foreseen, being roughly handled by the principal critics of the day, against whose favourite doctrines it militated, he published his well-known Bridgewater Treatise, "On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man." At the same period the cholera, which in its tremendous but erratic march had arrived in the island, and commenced its havoc in Newcastle and Sunderland, proceeded northward, and entered like a destroying angel within the gates of Edinburgh, which it filled with confusion and dismay. As its ravages went onward, the people became so maddened as to raise riots round the cholera hospitals, and treat the physicians, who attended on the patients at the risk of their own lives, with insult and violence. This exhibition was so afflictive to Dr. Chalmers, that he expressed his feelings upon the subject in the most impressive manner that a human being can possibly adopt—this was in public prayer, upon the national fast in St. George's church, while he was earnestly beseeching that the plague might be stayed, and the people spared. "We pray, O Lord, in a more especial manner," he thus supplicated, "for those patriotic men whose duty calls them to a personal encounter with this calamity, and

who, braving all the hazards of infection, may be said to stand between the living and the dead. Save them from the attacks of disease; save them from the obloquies of misconception and prejudice; and may they have the blessings and acknowledgments of a grateful community to encourage them in their labours." On the same evening, a lord of session requested that this portion of the prayer should be committed to writing, and made more public, in the hope of arresting that insane popular odium which had risen against the medical board. The prayer was soon printed, and circulated through the city.

In the year 1832, Dr. Chalmers was raised to the highest honour which the Church of Scotland can bestow, by being appointed moderator of the General Assembly. In this office he had the courage to oppose, and the good fortune to remove, an abuse that had grown upon the church until it had become a confirmed practice. It was now the use and wont of every commissioner to give public dinners, not only upon the week-days, but the Sabbaths of the Assembly's sitting, while the moderator sanctioned this practice by giving public breakfasts on the same day. In the eyes of the doctor this was a desecration of the sacred day, and he stated his feelings to Lord Belhaven, the commissioner, on the subject. The appeal was so effectual that the practice was discontinued, and has never since been resumed. At this Assembly, also, a fearful note was sounded, predictive of a coming contest. It was upon the obnoxious subject of patronage, against which the popular voice of Scotland had protested so long and loudly, but in vain. Overtures from eight Presbyteries and three Synods were sent up to this Assembly, stating, "That whereas the practice of church courts for many years had reduced the call to a mere formality; and whereas this practice has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people of Scotland from the Established Church; it is overtured, that such measures as may be deemed necessary be adopted, in order to restore the call to its constitutional efficiency." An animated debate was the consequence, and at last the motion of Principal Macfarlan, "that the Assembly judge it unnecessary and inexpedient to adopt the measures recommended in the overtures now before them," was carried by a majority of forty-two. From the office which he held, Dr. Chalmers could only be a presiding onlooker of the debate; but in the Assembly of next year, when the subject was resumed, he had an open arena before him, which he was not slow to occupy. On this occasion, the eleven overtures of the preceding year had swelled into forty-five, a growth that indicated the public feeling with unmistakable significance. The two principal speakers in the discussion that followed were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Cook, and each tendered his motion before the Assembly. That of Dr. Chalmers was to the effect, that efficiency should be given to the call, by declaring the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families in a parish, with or without the assignment of reasons, should be sufficient to set aside the presentee, unless these reasons were founded in malicious combination, or manifestly incorrect as to his ministerial gifts and qualifications. The counter-motion of Dr. Cook was, that while it is competent for the heads of families to give in to the Presbytery objections of whatever nature against the presentee, the Presbytery shall consider these objections, and if they find them unfounded, shall proceed to the settlement. This was carried only by a majority of twelve, and mainly, also, by the strength of the eldership, as a majority of twenty ministers was in favour of the motion of Dr. Chalmers. It was easy to see, however, in what direction the tide had set, and to what length and

amount it would prevail. At the next Assembly a full trial was to be made that should be conclusive upon the point at issue. Dr. Chalmers on this occasion was not a member, but his motion of the preceding year was again brought before the Assembly by Lord Moncrieff, in the form of an "Overture and Interim Act on Calls," and expressed as follows:—"The General Assembly declare, that it is a fundamental law of the Church, that no pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and, in order that the principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the church: And farther declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare, in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation." Such was the well-known measure called the Veto, which, being carried by a majority of forty-six, became part of the law of the Church of Scotland. Considering the previous domination of patronage, it was regarded with much complacency, as a valuable boon to public feeling, and a great step in advance towards a thorough reformation in the church. But, unfortunately, it was only a compromise with an evil that should have been utterly removed; a mere religious half-measure, that in the end was certain to dwindle into a nullity; and Dr. Chalmers lived long enough to confess its insufficiency and witness its downfall.

In the case of those honoured individuals who have "greatness thrust upon them," the imposition generally finds them at a season not only when they are least expectant of such distinctions, but apparently the furthest removed from all chance of obtaining them. Such all along had been the case with Chalmers. Fame had found him in the obscure parish of Kilmany, and there proclaimed him one of the foremost of pulpit orators. It had followed him into the murky wynds and narrow closes of the Trongate and Saltmarket of Glasgow; and there, while he was employed in devising means for the amelioration of poverty through parochial agency, it had lauded him in the senate and among statesmen as an able financier and political economist. Instead of seeking, he had been sought, by that high reputation which seems to have pursued him only the more intently by how much he endeavoured to escape it. And now, after he had been so earnestly employed in endeavouring to restore the old Scottish ecclesiastical *regime* and Puritan spirit of the seventeenth century—so loathed by the learned, the fashionable, and the free-thinking of the nineteenth—new honours, and these from the most unlikely sources, were showered upon him in full profusion. In 1834, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in the year following a vice-president. In the beginning of 1834, he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Institute of France; and

in the year 1835, while upon a visit to Oxford for the recovery of his health, impaired by the fatigues he had undergone in London in the discharge of his public duties, the university of Oxford in full theatre invested him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The academy of Voltaire, and the university of Laud, combining to do honour to a modern Scottish Covenanter!—never before had such extremes met! Such a triumph, however, needed a slave behind the chariot, and such a remembrancer was not wanting to the occasion. During his stay in London, he had been negotiating for the establishment of a permanent government salary to the chair of Theology in the university of Edinburgh, for at his entrance in 1828, the revenues of its professorship, in consequence of the abolition of pluralities, amounted to not more than £106 per annum. It was impossible, upon such a pittance, to maintain the proper dignity of the office, and rear a numerous family; and, although the town council endeavoured to supplement the defect by the establishment of fees to be paid by the students, this remedy was found so scanty and precarious, that Dr. Chalmers could not calculate upon more than £300 a-year, while the necessary expenditure of such an office could not be comprised within £800. But Government at the time was labouring under one of those periodical fits of economy in which it generally looks to the pennies, in the belief that the pounds can take care of themselves, and therefore the earnest appeals of Dr. Chalmers upon the importance of such a professorship, and the necessity of endowing it, were ineffectual. Little salaries were to be cut down, and small applicants withheld, to convince the sceptical public that its funds were managed with strict economy. To his office of professor, indeed, that of one of the Scottish royal chaplaincies had been added; but this was little more than an honorary title, as its salary was only £50 per annum. Thus, at the very height of his fame, Dr. Chalmers was obliged to bethink himself of such humble subjects as weekly household bills, and the ways and means of meeting them, and with the heavy pressure of duties that had gathered upon him to take refuge in the resources of authorship. A new and cheap edition of his works, in quarterly volumes, was therefore commenced in 1836. It was no mere republication of old matter, however, which he thus presented to the public, and this he was anxious should be generally understood. "It so happens," he thus writes to the Rev. Mr. Cunningham of Harrow, "that the great majority of my five first volumes will be altogether new; and that of the two first already published, and which finishes my views on Natural Theology, the "Bridgewater Treatise," is merely a fragment of the whole. Now, my request is, that you will draw the attention of any of the London reviewers to the new matter of my works." To such necessities the most distinguished man in Scotland, and the holder of its most important professorship, was reduced, because our Government would not endow his office with a modicum of that liberality which it extended to a sinecure forest-ranger, or even a captain of Beef-eaters.

These, however, were not the greatest of Dr. Chalmers' difficulties and cares. The important subject of church extension, that most clamant of our country's wants, annihilated all those that were exclusively personal, and after years of earnest advocacy, a bright prospect began to dawn that this want would be fully satisfied. The King's speech in 1835 recommended the measure; the parliamentary leaders of the Conservative party were earnest in supporting it; while the Earl of Aberdeen in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in that of the Commons, were the most urgent advocates for the extension of the Church in Scotland. But very different was the mood of the Whig ministry, and the

premier, Lord Melbourne, who succeeded, and all that could be obtained from them was a commission of inquiry. It was the vague "I'll see to it!" which in common life promises nothing, and usually accomplishes as little. Thus at least felt Dr. Chalmers, notwithstanding the assurances of Lord John Russell that the commissioners should be obliged to report progress from time to time, so that the House might apply the remedy to each evil successively as it was detected. It was no vague fear; for although the first report of the commissioners was to be returned in six months, thrice that period elapsed before the duty was implemented. This report, however, established a momentous fact; it was, that nearly one-third of the whole population of Edinburgh, to which their eighteen months' inquiry had been exclusively confined, were living in utter neglect of religious ordinances. To atone for such delay, as well as to remedy such an evil, it was now full time for the Parliament to be up and doing. But Parliament thought it was better to wait—to wait until they got farther intelligence. This intelligence at last came in two subsequent reports, by which it appeared that the deficiency of church accommodation and church attendance was still worse in Glasgow than in Edinburgh. And now, at least, was the time for action after four years of protracted inquiry; but the remedy which Parliament proposed consisted of little more than a few unmeaning words. The Highlands and the country parishes were to be aided from sources that were not available for the purpose, while the large towns were to be left in their former condition. In short, the Church of Scotland was to wait, and wait, and still to wait, while everything was to be expected, but nothing definite insured. A deputation from the Church Extension Committee was unavoidable under such circumstances of sickening procrastination and heartless disappointment; but the government that had anticipated such an advent, specified that Dr. Chalmers should not be one of the deputies. It was not convenient that the rulers of the hour should encounter the master-spirit of the age. Accordingly, the deputation of the Church of Scotland, *minus* Dr. Chalmers, waited upon Lord Melbourne, and represented what a dereliction the Government had committed in abandoning the religious provision of the large towns of Scotland, by which the principle of religious establishment itself was virtually abandoned. But they talked to a statesman whose only line of policy was to remember nothing about the past, and fear nothing for the future. Britain would last during his own day at least, and let all beyond encounter the life-and-death scramble as it best could. When he was told, therefore, that this abandonment of the Scottish cities was an abandonment of church establishment, and would inflict a fatal wound upon the Church of Scotland, this free-and-easy premier replied to the members of the deputation: "That, gentlemen, is your inference: you may not be the better for our plan; but, hang it! you surely cannot be worse;" and with this elegant sentence they were bowed off from the ministerial audience. It was well, however, that Dr. Chalmers, and those whom he influenced, had not entirely leaned, in such a vital question, upon the reed of court favour and government support. He had already learned, although with some reluctance, that most necessary scriptural caveat for a minister of the Church of Scotland, "Put not your trust in princes," so that from the commencement of this treaty between the Church and the State, he had turned his attention to the public at large as the source from which his expectations were to be realized. He therefore obtained the sanction of the General Assembly, in 1836, to form a sub-committee on church extension, for the purpose of organizing a plan of

meetings over the whole country for the erection of new churches. It was thus applying to the fountain-head, let the conduits be closed as they might, and the result more than answered his expectations. In the year 1838, he was enabled to state to the General Assembly, that these two years of organized labour, combined with the two years of desultory effort that had preceded—four years in all—had produced nearly £200,000, out of which nearly 200 churches had been erected. Well might he call this, in announcing the fact, “an amount and continuance of pecuniary support altogether without a precedent in the history of Christian beneficence in this part of the British empire.” To this he added a hope—but how differently fulfilled from the way he expected! “At the glorious era of the Church’s reformation,” he said, “it was the unwearied support of the people which, under God, finally brought her efforts to a triumphant issue. In this era of her extension—an era as broadly marked and as emphatically presented to the notice of the ecclesiastical historian as any which the Church is wont to consider as instances of signal revival and divine interposition—the support of the people will not be wanting, but by their devoted exertions, and willing sacrifices, and ardent prayers, they will testify how much they love the house where their fathers worshipped; how much they reverence their Saviour’s command, that the very poorest of their brethren shall have the gospel preached to them.”

While the indifference of Government upon the subject of church extension was thus felt in Scotland, a calamity of a different character was equally impending over the churches both of Scotland and England—a calamity that threatened nothing less than to disestablish them, and throw them upon the voluntary support of the public at large. Such was a part of the effects of the Reform Bill. It brought forward the Dissenters into place and power, and gave them a vantage ground for their hostility to all ecclesiastical establishments; and so well did they use this opportunity, that the separation of Church and State promised to be an event of no distant occurrence. Even Wellington himself, whose practised eye saw the gathering for the campaign, and whose stout heart was not apt to be alarmed at bugbears, thus expressed his sentiments on the occasion: “People talk of the war in Spain, and the Canada question, but all that is of little moment. The real question is, Church or no Church; and the majority of the House of Commons—a small majority, it is true, but still a majority—are practically against it.” This majority, too, had already commenced its operations with the Church of Ireland, the number of whose bishops was reduced, and a large amount of whose endowments it was proposed to alienate to other purposes than the support of religion. Thus was that war begun which has continued from year to year, growing at each step in violence and pertinacity, and threatening the final eversion of the two religious establishments of Great Britain. The friends of the Establishment principle were equally alert in its defence; and among other institutions, a Christian Influence Society was formed, to vindicate the necessity and duty of State support to the national religion as embodied in the church of the majority of the people. It occurred to this society that their cause could be best supported by popular appeal on the part of a bold, zealous, eloquent advocate—one who had already procured the right to speak upon such a subject, and to whom all might gladly and confidently listen. And where could they find such an advocate? All were at one in the answer, and Dr. Chalmers was in consequence requested to give a course of public lectures in London upon the subject of Church Estab-

lishments, to which he assented. Thus mysteriously was he led by a way which he knew not to a termination which he had not anticipated. He was to raise his eloquent voice for the last time in behalf of a cause which he was soon after to leave for ever—and to leave only because a higher, holier, and more imperative duty commanded his departure.

This visit of Dr. Chalmers to London was made in the spring of 1838. He took with him a course of lectures on which he had bestowed the utmost pains; and the first, which he delivered on the 25th of April, was attended by the most distinguished in rank and talent, who admired the lecturer, as well as sympathized in his subject. The other discourses followed successively, and seldom has great London been stirred from its mighty depths as upon these occasions. Peers, prelates, statesmen, literati, the powerful, the noble, the rich, the learned, all hurried pell-mell into the passages, or were crowded in one living heap in the ample hall; and all eyes were turned upon the homely-looking elderly man who sat at the head, before a little table, at times looking as if buried in a dream, and at others, lifting up his eyes at the gathering and advancing tide, composed of England's noblest and best, as if he wondered what this unwonted stir could mean. How had such a man collected such a concourse? That was soon shown, when, after having uttered a few sentences, with a pronunciation which even his own countrymen deemed uncouth, he warmed with his subject, until his thoughts seemed to be clothed with thunder, and starting to his feet, the whole assembly rose with him as one man, passed into all his feelings, and moved with his every impulse, as if for the time they had implicitly resigned their identity into his hands, and were content to be but parts of that wondrous individual in whose utterance they were so absorbed and swallowed up. "The concluding lecture," says one writer, "was graced by the presence of nine prelates of the Church of England. The tide that had been rising and swelling each succeeding day, now burst all bounds. Carried away by the impassioned utterance of the speaker, long ere the close of some of his finest passages was reached, the voice of the lecturer was drowned in the applause, the audience rising from their seats, waving their hats above their heads, and breaking out into tumultuous approbation." "Nothing was more striking, however," writes another, "amidst all this excitement, than the child-like humility of the great man himself. All the flattery seemed to produce no effect whatever on him; his mind was entirely absorbed in his great object; and the same kind, playful, and truly Christian spirit, that so endeared him to us all, was everywhere apparent in his conduct. . . . I had heard Dr. Chalmers on many great occasions, but probably his London lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked amongst the most signal triumphs of oratory in any age."

Having thus delivered such a solemn and public testimony in behalf of Church Establishments, Dr. Chalmers now resolved to visit France, a duty which he conceived he owed to the country, as he had been elected a member of its far-famed Royal Institute. He accordingly went from England to Paris in the earlier part of June, 1838, accompanied by his wife and two daughters. From the journal which he kept on the occasion, much interesting information may be gleaned of his views on the state of France and French society, while throughout, it is evident that he carried with him what our English tourists too seldom transport into that country—the willingness to recognize and readiness to acknowledge whatever superiority it possesses over our own. He thus

found that Paris was something better than a city of profligates, and France than a land of infidels. In that gay metropolis his exclamation is, "How much more still and leisurely everything moves here than in London! . . . It is more a city of loungers; and life moves on at a more rational pace." On another occasion he declared Paris "better than London, in not being a place of extreme and high-pressure work in all the departments of industry. More favourable to intellect, to man in his loftier capacities, to all the better and higher purposes of our nature." It was not wonderful, therefore, that with such frankness and warmth of heart he was soon at one with the choicest of that literary and intellectual society with which the city at all times abounds, and delighted with its buildings, its public walks, and museums of science and art. Dr. Chalmers made no pretension to taste in the fine arts, and its critical phraseology he detested as cant and jargon; but it was well known by his friends that he had a love of fine statues and pictures, and an innate natural perception of their beauties, that might well have put those who prate learnedly about Raffaele and Titian to the blush. This will at once be apparent in his notices of the Louvre, where his remarks are full of life and truthfulness: "Struck with the picture of one of Bonaparte's battles in his retreat from Moscow. The expression of Napoleon very striking—as if solemnized by the greatness of the coming disaster, yet with an air of full intelligence, and serenity, and majesty, and a deep mournful expression withal. The long gallery of the Louvre superb; impressed at once with the superiority of its pictures. Very much interested in the Flemish pictures, of which there were some very admirable ones by David Teniers. I am fond of Rembrandt's portraits; and was much pleased in recognizing the characteristics of Rubens, Poussin, and Claude Lorrain. I also remarked that in most of the Italian schools, with the exception of the Venetian, there was a total want of shading off; yet the separate figures, though not harmonized with the back-ground, very striking in themselves. The statuary of painting perhaps expresses the style of the Roman and other such schools. There is a quadrangle recently attached to the east end of the gallery, filled with the models of towns, ships, and machinery; the towns very instructive. But the most interesting part of this department is the Spanish pictures, in all of which the strong emotions are most powerfully expressed. There is quite a stamp of national peculiarity in these works. The walls which contain them seem all alive with the passions and thoughts of living men." Thus far Dr. Chalmers in a new character, as a critic in painting—not of the schools, however, but of nature's own teaching. After a short residence of three weeks in Paris, during which he noticed everything with a benevolent and observant eye, and read before the Institute a lecture of initiation, having for its title, the "Distinction, both in Principle and Effect, between a Legal Charity for the Relief of Indigence, and a Legal Charity for the Relief of Disease," Dr. Chalmers set off on a short tour through some of the inland provinces, which he was induced to make by the persuasion of his English friends. On finishing it, he characterized it as a most interesting journey, in which his hopes for the futurity of France had been materially improved. He then returned to Edinburgh, where sterner events awaited his arrival.

The first task of Dr. Chalmers, on returning home, was the augmentation of the Church Extension Fund. No hope was now to be derived from Government grants, and therefore, while old age was stealing upon him, and the weariness of a life of toil demanding cessation and repose, he felt as if the struggle

had commenced anew, and must be encountered over again. The Extension Scheme was his favourite enterprise, in which all his energies for years had been embarked; and could he leave it now in its hour of need, more especially after such a hopeful commencement? He therefore began an arduous tour for the purpose on the 18th of August, 1839. He commenced with the south-western districts of Scotland, in the course of which he visited and addressed ten presbyteries successively. And, be it observed, too, that this prince of orators had a difficulty in his task to encounter which only an orator can fully appreciate. Hitherto his addresses to public meetings had been carefully studied and composed, so that to extemporaneous haranguing on such occasions he had been an utter stranger. But now that he must move rapidly from place to place, and adapt himself to every kind of meeting, and be ready for every sudden emergency of opposition or cavil, he felt that the aids of the study must be abandoned—that he must be ready on every point, and at every moment—that, in short, all his former habits of oratory must be abandoned, and a new power acquired, and that too, at the age of sixty, when old habits are confirmed, and the mind has lost its flexibility. But even this difficulty he met and surmounted; his ardour in the work beat down every obstacle, and bore him irresistibly onward. “It is true,” he said, “that it were better if we lived in times when a calm and sustained argumentation from the press would have carried the influential minds of the community; but, as it is, one must accommodate his doings to the circumstances of the age.” After the south-western districts had been visited, he made another tour, in which he visited Dundee, Perth, Stirling, and Dunfermline; and a third, that comprised the towns of Brechin, Montrose, Arbroath, and Aberdeen. A fourth, which he called his great northern tour, led him through a considerable part of the Highlands, where he addressed many meetings, and endeavoured everywhere to stir up the people to a due sense of the importance of religious ordinances. But it is melancholy to find that labours so great ended, upon the whole, in disappointment. At the commencement Dr. Chalmers had confidently expected to raise £100,000 for the erection of a hundred new churches, and in this expectation he was fully justified by the success of his previous efforts. But £40,000 was the utmost that was realized by all this extraordinary toil and travel. Still, however, much had been done during his seven years of labour in the cause of church extension; for in 1841, when he demitted his office as convener of the committee, 220 churches, at a cost of more than £300,000, had been added to the Establishment. He had thus made an extensive trial of Voluntaryism, and obtained full experience of its capabilities and defects, of which the following was his recorded opinion:—“While he rejoices in the experimental confirmation which the history of these few years has afforded him of the resources and the capabilities of the Voluntary system, to which, as hitherto unfostered by the paternal care of Government, the scheme of church extension is indebted for all its progress, it still remains his unshaken conviction of that system notwithstanding, that it should only be resorted to as a supplement, and never but in times when the powers of infidelity and intolerance are linked together in hostile combination against the sacred prerogatives of the church, should it once be thought of as a substitute for a national establishment of Christianity. In days of darkness and disquietude it may open a temporary resource, whether for a virtuous secession or an ejected church to fall back upon; but a far more glorious consummation is, when the State puts forth its hand to sustain but not to sub-

jugate the Church, and the two, bent on moral conquests alone, walk together as fellow-helpers towards the achievement of that great pacific triumph—the Christian education of the people.”

The indifferent success with which the latter part of the labours of Dr. Chalmers in behalf of church extension was followed, could be but too easily explained. The Church of Scotland had now entered the depths of her trial; and while the issue was uncertain, the public mind was in that state of suspense under which time seems to stand still, and all action is at a pause. The urgent demand that was pressed upon society was for money to erect more places of worship—but what the while did the State mean to do in this important matter? Would it take the whole responsibility upon itself, or merely supplement the liberality of the people? And if the latter, then, to what amount would it give aid, and upon what terms? When a cautious benevolence is thus posed, it too often ruminates, until the hour of action has knelled its departure. Such was the condition to which Scotland was now reduced. In tracing its causes, we must revert to the last five years of our narrative, and those important ecclesiastical movements with which Dr. Chalmers was so closely implicated.

In obtaining the veto law, Dr. Chalmers was far from regarding it either as a satisfactory or a final measure. Instead of being an ecclesiastical reform, it was but a half-way concession, in which Church and State would be liable to much unpleasant collision. This result must sooner or later be the case, and in such a shock the weaker would be driven to the wall. This Dr. Chalmers foresaw, and it required no extraordinary sagacity to foretell which of these causes would prove the weaker. And yet the veto, like most great changes however defective, worked well at the commencement. So remarkably had the evangelistic spirit been revived by it, that in 1839 the revenue collected for Christian enterprise was fourteen times greater than it had been five years previous. Another significant fact of its usefulness was, that notwithstanding the new power it conferred upon the people, that power had been enjoyed with such moderation, that during these five years it had been exercised only in ten cases out of one hundred and fifty clerical settlements. All this, however, was of no avail to save it from ruin, and even the beginning of its short-lived existence gave promise how soon and how fatally it would terminate.

The first act of hostility to the veto law occurred only a few months after it had passed. The parish church of Auchterarder had become vacant, and the Earl of Kinnoul, who was patron, made a presentation of the living in favour of Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate. But the assent of the people was also necessary, and after Mr. Young had preached two successive Sabbaths in the pulpit of Auchterarder, that the parishioners might test his qualifications, a day was appointed for their coming forward to moderate in the call, by signing their acceptance. Not more, however, than two heads of families, and his lordship's factor, a non-resident, out of a parish of three thousand souls, gave their subscription. As this was no call at all, it was necessary to obtain a positive dissent, and on the opportunity being given for the heads of families, being communicants, to sign their rejection, two hundred and eighty-seven, out of three hundred members, subscribed their refusal to have the presentee for their minister. Thus, Mr. Young was clearly and most expressly vetoed, and his presentation should, according to the law, have been instantly cancelled; but, instead of submitting, he appealed against the refusal of the parish, in the first instance to the Presbytery, and afterwards to the Synod; and on his appeal being rejected successively

by both courts, he finally carried it, not to the General Assembly, for ultimate adjudication, as he was bound to do, but to the Court of Session, where it was to be reduced to a civil question, and nothing more. In this way, admission to the holy office of the ministry and the cure of souls was to be as secular a question as the granting of a publican's license or the establishment of a highway toll, and to be settled by the same tribunal! After much fluctuation and delay that occurred during the trial of this singular case, a final decision was pronounced by the Court of Session in February, 1838, by which the Presbytery of Auchterarder was declared to have acted illegally, and in violation of their duty, in rejecting Mr. Young solely on account of the dissent of the parish, without any reasons assigned for it. But what should the Presbytery do or suffer in consequence? This was not declared; for the Court, having advanced so far as to find the veto law illegal, did not dare to issue a positive command to the Church to throw it aside, and admit the presentee to the ministerial office. The utmost they could do was to adjudge the temporalities of the benefice to Mr. Young, while the Church might appoint to its spiritual duties whatever preacher was found fittest for the purpose. Still, however, if not unchurched, she was disestablished by such a decision; and, for the purpose of averting this disastrous termination, the case was appealed from the Court of Session to the House of Lords. But there the sentence of the Scottish tribunal, instead of being repealed, was confirmed and established into law. Thus patronage was replaced in all its authority, and the veto made a dead letter. This judgment, so important to the future history of the Church of Scotland, was delivered by the House of Lords on May 3, 1839. On the 16th the General Assembly met, and Dr. Chalmers, who had hitherto seldom taken a part in the proceedings of church courts, now made anxious preparation for the important crisis. The veto, he saw, existed no longer; but was the choice of the people to perish also? The important discussion commenced by Dr. Cook presenting a motion, to the effect that the Assembly should hold the veto law as abrogated, and proceed as if it never had passed. To this Dr. Chalmers presented a counter-motion, consisting of three parts. The first acknowledged the right of the civil authority over the temporalities of the living of Auchterarder, and acquiesced in their loss; the second expressed the resolution not to abandon the principle of non-intrusion; and the third proposed the formation of a committee to confer with Government, for the prevention of any further collision between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. A heart-stirring speech of three hours followed, in which he advocated each point of his motion with such irresistible eloquence, that it was carried by a majority of forty-nine. In this speech, the following comparison between the two national churches was not only fitted to send a patriotic thrill through every Scottish heart, but to enlighten those English understandings that could not comprehend the causes of a national commotion, in which they, nevertheless, found themselves somehow most deeply implicated:—

“Let me now, instead of looking forward into consequences, give some idea to the Assembly of the extent of that degradation and helplessness which, if we do submit to this decision of the House of Lords, have been actually and already inflicted upon us—a degradation to which the Church of England, professing the king to be their head, never would submit; and to which the Church of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus Christ to be their head, never can. You know that, by the practice of our church, the induction and the ordination go

together. We regard both as spiritual acts ; but, by the practice of the Church of England, the two are separated in point of time from each other ; and as they look only upon the ordination as spiritual, this lays them open to such civil mandates and civil interdicts as we have never been accustomed to receive in the questions which arise on the subject of induction into parishes. But ask any English ecclesiastic whether the bishop would receive an order, from any civil court whatever, on the matter of ordination ; and the instant, the universal reply is, that he would not. In other words, we should be degraded far beneath the level of the sister church if we remain in connection with the State, and submit to this new ordinance, or, if you will, to this new interpretation of their old ordinances." After quoting a case in point, in which a presentee in the Church of England had appealed, but in vain, to the royal authority against the prelate who refused to ordain him, Dr. Chalmers continued :—" To what position, then, are we brought if we give in to the opposite motion, and proceed in consequence to the ordination of Mr. Young ? To such a position as the bishops of England, with all the Erastianism which has been charged, and to a great degree, I think, falsely charged, upon that establishment, never, never would consent to occupy. Many of them would go to the prison and the death rather than submit to such an invasion on the functions of the sacred office. We read of an old imprisonment of bishops, which led to the greatest and most glorious political emancipation that ever took place in the history of England. Let us not be mistaken. Should the emancipation of our church require it, there is the same strength of high and holy determination in this our land. There are materials here, too, for upholding the contest between principle and power, and enough of the blood and spirit of the olden time for sustaining that holy warfare, where, as in former days, the inflictions of the one party were met with a patience and determination invincible in the sufferings of the other."

In consequence of the recommendation embodied in his motion, a committee was appointed for conferring with Government, of which Dr. Chalmers was convener. It was now resolved that they should repair to London upon their important mission, and thither he accompanied them in the beginning of July. After much negotiation with the leaders of the different parties, the members of committee returned to Edinburgh ; and in the report which Dr. Chalmers gave of their proceedings, he expressed his opinion that matters looked more hopeful than ever. Important concessions were to be made to the church on the part of Government, and a measure was to be devised and drawn up to that effect. " With such helps and encouragements on our side," the report concluded, " let but the adherents of this cause remain firm and united in principle among themselves, and with the favour of an approving God, any further contest will be given up as unavailing ; when, let us fondly hope, all the feelings of party, whether of triumph on one side, because of victory, or of humiliation on the other side, because of defeat, shall be merged and forgotten in the desires of a common patriotism, to the reassurance of all who are the friends of our Establishment, to the utter confusion of those enemies who watch for our halting, and would rejoice in our overthrow."

It was indeed full time that such a hope should dawn upon those who loved the real interests of our church. For the case of Auchterarder did not stand alone ; on the contrary, it was only the first signal of a systematic warfare which patronage was about to wage against the rights of the people ; and the example of appeal to the civil authority was but too readily followed in those

cases that succeeded. And first came that of Lothendy, and afterwards of Marnoch, in which the civil authority was invoked by vetted presentees; while in the last of these conflicts the Presbytery of Strathbogie, to which Marnoch belonged, complicated the difficulties of the question by adopting the cause of the rejected licentiate, and setting the authority of the church at defiance. The rebellious ministers were suspended from office; and they, in turn, relying upon the protection of the civil power, served an interdict upon those clergymen who, at the appointment of the General Assembly, should attempt to officiate in their pulpits, or even in their parishes. The Court of Session complied so far as to exclude the Assembly's ministers from preaching in the churches, church-yards, and school-rooms of the suspended, so that they were obliged to preach in barns or in the open air; but at last, when even this liberty was complained of by the silenced recusants, the civil court agreed to the whole amount of their petition. It was such a sentence, issuing from mere juriconsults and Edinburgh lawyers, as was sometimes hazarded in the most tyrannical seasons of the dark ages, when a ghostly conclave of pope, cardinals, and prince-palatines, laid a whole district under the ban of an interdict for the offence of its ruler, and deprived its people of the rites of the church until full atonement had been paid. Such was the state of matters when the Assembly's commission met on the 4th of March, and resolved to resist this monstrous usurpation. On this occasion, Dr. Chalmers spoke with his wonted energy; and after representing the enormity of the offence, and the necessity of resisting it, he thus concluded:—"Be it known, then, unto all men, that we shall not retract one single footstep—we shall make no submission to the Court of Session—and that, not because of the disgrace, but because of the gross and grievous dereliction of principle that we should thereby incur. They may force the ejection of us from our places: they shall never, never force us to the surrender of our principles; and if that honourable court shall again so far mistake their functions as to repeat or renew the inroads they have already made, we trust they will ever meet with the same reception they have already gotten—to whom we shall give place by subjection, no, not for an hour; no, not by an hair-breadth."

The only earthly hope of the Church of Scotland was now invested in the Parliament. The former had distinctly announced the terms on which it would maintain its connection with the State, while the leading men of the latter had held out such expectations of redress as filled the hearts of Dr. Chalmers and his friends with confidence. It was now full time to make the trial. A deputation was accordingly sent to London; but, after mountains of promises and months of delay, by which expectation was alternately elevated and crushed, nothing better was produced than Lord Aberdeen's bill. By this, a reclaiming parish were not only to state their objections, but the grounds and reasons on which they were founded; while the Presbytery, in taking cognizance of these objections, were to admit them only when personal to the presentee, established on sufficient grounds, and adequate for his rejection. Thus, a country parish—a rustic congregation—were to analyze their religious impressions, embody them in distinct form, and table them before a learned and formidable tribunal in rejecting the minister imposed upon them; while, in weighing these nice objections, and ascertaining their specific gravity, every country minister was to be a Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas, if not a very Daniel come to judgment. We suspect that the members of the learned House of Lords, and even of the Commons to boot, would have been sorely puzzled had such a case been their

own, whether in the character of judges or appellants. It was in vain that Dr. Chalmers remonstrated by letter with the originator of this strange measure: the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, was now the *ultimatum*; and, as might be expected, it was rejected in the General Assembly by a majority of nearly two to one. The unfortunate bill was in consequence withdrawn, while its disappointed author characterized Dr. Chalmers, in the House of Lords, as "a reverend gentleman, a great leader in the Assembly, who, having brought the church into a state of jeopardy and peril, had left it to find its way out of the difficulty as well as it could." This was not the only instance in which the doctor and his coadjutors were thus calumniated from the same quarter, so that he was obliged to publish a pamphlet on the principles of the church question, and a reply to the charges with which its advocates had been vilified. "It is as a blow struck," he wrote, "at the corner-stone, when the moral integrity of clergymen is assailed; and when not in any secret or obscure whispering-place, but on the very house-tops of the nation, we behold, and without a single expression of remonstrance or regret from the assembled peerage of the empire, one nobleman sending forth his wrathful fulmination against the honesty and truth of ministers of religion, and another laughing it off in his own characteristic way with a good-natured jeer as a thing of nought—we cannot but lament the accident by which a question of so grave a nature, and of such portentous consequences to society as the character of its most sacred functionaries, should have come even for a moment under the treatment of such hands."

Events had now ripened for decisive action. The Church could not, and the State would not yield, and those deeds successively and rapidly occurred that terminated in the disruption. As these, however, were so open, and are so well known, a brief recapitulation of the leading ones is all that is necessary. The seven suspended ministers of Strathbogie, regardless of the sentence of the Assembly, by which they were rendered incapable of officiating in their ministerial character, resolved to ordain and admit Mr. Edwards, the rejected presentee, to the pastoral charge of Marnoch, at the command and by the authority of the Court of Session alone, which had by its sentence commissioned them to that effect. This portentous deed was done on the 21st of January, 1841, and Scotland looked on with as much astonishment as if the Stuarts had risen from the dead. "May Heaven at length open the eyes of those infatuated men," exclaimed Dr. Chalmers, "who are now doing so much to hasten on a crisis which they will be the first to deplore!" For an act of daring rebellion, so unparalleled in the history of the Church, it was necessary that its perpetrators should be deposed; and for this Dr. Chalmers boldly moved at the next meeting of Assembly. The question was no longer whether these men were animated by pure and conscientious though mistaken motives, to act as they had done: of this fact Dr. Chalmers declared that he knew nothing. "But I do know," he added, "that when forbidden by their ecclesiastical superiors to proceed any further with Mr. Edwards, they took him upon trials; and when suspended from the functions of the sacred ministry by a commission of the General Assembly, they continued to preach and to dispense the sacraments; that they called in the aid of the civil power to back them in the exclusion from their respective parishes of clergymen appointed by the only competent court to fulfil the office which they were no longer competent to discharge; and lastly, as if to crown and consummate this whole disobedience—as if to place the topstone on the Babel of their proud and rebellious defiance, I know that,

to the scandal and astonishment of all Scotland, and with a daring which I believe themselves would have shrunk from at the outset of their headlong career, they put forth their unlicensed hands on the dread work of ordination ; and as if in solemn mockery of the Church's most venerable forms, asked of the unhappy man who knelt before them, if he promised 'to submit himself humbly and willingly, in the spirit of meekness, unto the admonitions of the brethren of the Presbytery, and to be subject to them and all other Presbyteries and superior judicatories of this Church ;' and got back from him an affirmative response, along with the declaration that 'zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, were his great motives and chief inducements to enter into the functions of the holy ministry, and not worldly designs and interests.' " The proposal for their deposition was carried by a majority of ninety-seven out of three hundred and forty-seven members, notwithstanding the opposition of the moderate party, and the sentence was pronounced accordingly. But only the day after the Assembly was astounded by being served with an interdict, charging them to desist from carrying their sentence into effect! After this deed of hardihood, the deposed ministers retired to their parishes, and continued their public duties in defiance of the Assembly's award, while they were encouraged in their contumacy by several of their moderate brethren, who assisted them in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. A resolution was passed that these abettors of the deposed ministers should be censured ; but Dr. Cook and his party opposed the measure, on the plea that it would perpetuate the divisions now prevalent in the Church. It was thus made a question, not of the Church against the State for the aggressions of the latter against the former, but merely of the evangelical party against the moderates ; and upon this footing the moderates were resolved to place it before the legislature, and ascertain to which of the parties the countenance and support of the State was to be given. In this form the result would be certain, for the State would love its own. A disruption was inevitable, and it was equally certain that the evangelical portion of the Church would not be recognized by the State as the established Church of Scotland. This was so distinctly foreseen, that meetings had already been held to deliberate in what manner the Church was to be supported after it should be disestablished. Upon this difficult question Dr. Chalmers had already bestowed profound attention, and been rewarded with the most animating hopes ; so that in a letter to Sir George Sinclair he thus writes : "I have been studying a good deal the economy of our non-Erastian church when severed from the State and its endowments—an event which I would do much to avert, but which, if inevitable, we ought to be prepared for. I do not participate in your fears of an extinction even for our most remote parishes. And the noble resolution of the town ministers, to share *equally* with their country brethren, from a common fund raised for the general behoof of the ejected ministers, has greatly brightened my anticipations of a great and glorious result, should the Government cast us off."

This casting-off became every day more certain. The Court of Session was now the umpire in every case of ecclesiastical rule ; so that vetoed preachers and suspended ministers could carry their case before the civil tribunal, with the almost certain hope that the sentence of the church court would be reversed. Thus it was in the case of Culsaalmond, in the Presbytery of Garrioch. A preacher was presented whom the parishioners refused to receive as their minister ; but the Presbytery, animated by the example of their brethren of Strathbogie, forthwith

ordained him without waiting, as they were bound, for the adjudication of the General Assembly; and when its meeting of commission interposed, and arrested these proceedings, it was served by the civil court with a suspension and interdict. Another case was, if possible, still more flagrant. The minister of a parish had been convicted of four separate acts of theft. The cases were of such a contemptible kind of petty larceny, compared with the position of the culprit and the consequences they involved, that it may be charitably hoped they arose from that magpie monomania from which even lords and high-titled ladies are not always exempt, under which they will sometimes secrete a few inches of paltry lace, or pocket a silver spoon. But though the cause of such perversity might be suited for a consultation of doctors and a course of hellebore, the deeds themselves showed the unfitness of the actor to be a minister. Yet he too applied for and obtained an interdict against the sentence of deposition; so that he was enabled to purloin eggs, handkerchiefs, and pieces of earthenware for a few years longer. A third minister was accused of fraudulent dealings, and was about to be tried by his Presbytery; but here, also, the civil court was successfully invoked to the rescue, and an interdict was obtained to stop the trial. A fourth case was that of a presentee who, in consequence of repeated acts of drunkenness, was about to be deprived of his license; but this offender was likewise saved by an interdict. And still the State looked on, and would do nothing! The only alternative was for that party to act by whom such proceedings could be conscientiously endured no longer. They must dis-establish themselves by their own voluntary deed, whether they constituted the majority of the church or otherwise. But how many of their number were prepared to make the sacrifice? and in what manner was it to be made? This could only be ascertained by a convocation of the ministers from every part of Scotland; and the meeting accordingly was appointed to be held in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842. It was an awful crisis, and as such Dr. Chalmers felt it; so that, having done all that man could do in the way of preparation, he threw himself wholly upon Divine strength and counsel. His solemn petitions on this occasion were: "Do thou guide, O Lord, the deliberations and measures of that convocation of ministers now on the eve of assembling; and save me, in particular, from all that is rash and unwarrantable when engaged with the counsels or propositions that come before it. Let me not, O God, be an instrument in any way of disappointing or misleading my brethren. Let me not, in this crisis of our Church's history, urge a sacrifice upon others which I would not most cheerfully share with them." The convocation assembled, and 450 ministers were present on the occasion. The deliberations, which extended over several days, were conducted with a harmony and unanimity seldom to be found in church courts; one common principle, and that, too, of the highest and most sacred import, seemed to animate every member; while in each movement a voice was heard to which they were all ready to listen. The prayer of Dr. Chalmers was indeed answered! It was resolved, that no measure could be submitted to, unless it exempted them in all time to come from such a supremacy as the civil courts had lately exercised. Should this not be obtained and guaranteed, the next resolution was, that they should withdraw from a Church in which they could no longer conscientiously remain and act under such secular restrictions. It was probable, then, that they must withdraw, but what was to follow? Even to the wisest of their number it seemed inevitable that they must assume the character of mere individual missionaries,

each labouring by himself in whatever sphere of usefulness he could find, and trusting to the precarious good-will of Christian society for his support. They could be an organized and united Church no longer; for had not such a consequence followed the Bartholomew Act in England, and the Black Act in Scotland, of whose victims they were about to become the willing followers and successors. It was at this trying moment that Dr. Chalmers stepped forward with an announcement that electrified the whole Assembly. He had long contemplated, in common with his brethren, the probability of an exodus such as was now resolved. But that which formed their *ultimatum* was only his starting-point. In that very ejection there was the beginning of a new ecclesiastical history of Scotland; and out of these fragments a Church was to be constituted with a more complete and perfect organization than before. Such had been his hopes; and for their realization he had been employed during twelve months in drawing out a plan, by which this disestablished Church was to be supported as systematically and effectually by a willing public, as it had been in its highest ascendancy, when the State was its nursing-mother. Here, then, was the remote mysterious end of all those laborious studies of former years in legislation, political economy, and finance, at which the wisest of his brethren had marvelled, and with which the more rigid had been offended! He now unfolded the schedule of his carefully constructed and admirable scheme; and the hearers were astonished to find that General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries,—that their institutions of missionary and benevolent enterprise, with settled homes and a fitting provision for all in their ministerial capacity, were still at hand, and ready for their occupation, as before. In this way the dreaded disruption was to be nothing more than a momentary shock. And now the ministers might return to their manses, and gladden with these tidings their anxious families who were preparing for a mournful departure. Even yet, however, they trembled—it was a plan so new, so vast, so utterly beyond their sphere! But they were still unshaken in their resolution, which they subscribed with unfaltering hands; and when Dr. Chalmers heard that more than 300 names had been signed, he exclaimed, “Then we are more than Gideon’s army—a most hopeful omen!” Their proposals were duly transmitted to Sir Robert Peel, now at the head of Government, and the members, after six days of solemn conference, retired to their homes.

The terms of the Church, and the reasons on which these were founded, had thus been stated to Government in the most unequivocal sentences, words, and syllables, so that there could be no perversion of their construction, or mistake of their meaning. The answer of the State was equally express, as embodied in the words of Sir Robert Peel. And thus he uttered it in his place in the House of Commons:—“If a church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an Establishment, that church, whether it be the Church of England, the Church of Rome, or the Church of Scotland—that church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly, it would be an absurdity, that a church should possess the privilege, and enjoy the advantages of connection with the State, and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations which, wherever there is an authority, must of necessity exist; and this House and the country never could lay it down, that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords.” These were the conditions, and therefore the Church of Scotland must succumb. Such treatment of land tenures and

offices, as that with which the Articles of Union insuring the independence of the Scottish Kirk were thus treated, would have sufficed to dispossess no small portion of the English nobility, and dry up hundreds of title-deeds into blank parchment. But on this occasion the dint of the argument fell not upon knights and nobles, whom it would have been dangerous to disturb, but upon Scottish presbyters, of whom sufferance had been the distinctive badge since the day that James VI. entered England. The aggressors and the aggrieved were equally aware that the days of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge had passed away with the buff-coats and partisans of the seventeenth century, and therefore, while the one party assailed, the other were prepared to defend themselves, according to peaceful modern usage. The war of argument and remonstrance had ended, and the overpowered but not vanquished Church must rally and intrench itself according to the plan laid down at the beginning of the campaign. It was now, therefore, that Dr. Chalmers was doubly busy. When he announced his financial plan at the convocation, by which the retiring Church was to be supported in all its former integrity, his brethren had demurred about the possibility of its accomplishment, and now held back from the attempt. That plan was the organization of local associations, by which not only every district, but every family should be accessible, so that his vision, as they were ready to deem it, of £100,000 per annum for the support of the ministry alone, might be accumulated in shillings and pence. It was the trunk of the elephant handling every leaf, twig, and branch of the tree which it was commissioned to uproot. Finding himself, in the first instance, unable to convince by argument, he had recourse to example, and for this purpose he immediately instituted an association of his own in the parish of Morningside, the place of his residence. His example was followed by others; and at last a provisional committee was formed, having for its object the whole plan which he had originally proposed. It consisted of three sections, the financial, the architectural, and the statistical, of which the first was properly intrusted to himself, and the result of this threefold action by infinitesimal application quickly justified his theory. Local associations over the whole extent of Scotland were formed by the hundred, and contributions of money accumulated by the thousand, so that, let the disruption occur as it might, the most despondent hearts were cheered and prepared for the emergency.

The important period at length arrived that was to set the seal upon all this preparation and promise. The interval that had occurred was that awful pause of hope and fear, with which friend and enemy await a deed of such moment, that they cannot believe in its reality until it is accomplished. Would then a disruption occur in very truth, and the Church of Scotland be rent asunder? Or would Government interpose at the last hour and moment to avert so fatal a necessity? Or might it not be, that when it came to the trial, the hearts of the men who had spoken so bravely would fail them, so that they would be ready to embrace any terms of accommodation, or even surrender at discretion? But the days of martyrdom—the chivalry of the Church—it was asserted had gone for ever; and therefore there were thousands who proclaimed their conviction to the very last that not a hundred would go out—not forty—perhaps not even one. On Thursday, the 18th of May, 1843, the General Assembly was to be opened, and the question laid to rest, while every district and nook of Scotland had poured its representatives into Edinburgh to look on and judge. Nor was that day commenced without a startling omen. The ministers of the

Assembly had repaired to the ancient palace of Holyrood, to pay dutiful homage to their Sovereign, in the person of Lord Bute, her commissioner; and there also were the protesting clergy, eager to show at that trying crisis, that let the issue be what it might, they were, and still would continue to be, the leal and loyal subjects of her Majesty. But as the crowded levee approached his lordship, the picture of King William that hung upon the wall—he who had restored that Presbyterian Church whose rights were now to be vindicated—fell to the ground with a sullen clang, while a voice from the crowd exclaimed, “There goes the revolution settlement?” The levees was over in Holyrood; the devotional exercises had been finished in the Cathedral of St. Giles; and the General Assembly were seated in St. Andrew’s church, ready to commence the business of the day—but not the wonted business. Dr. Welch, who, as moderator of the last Assembly, occupied the chair of office, and opened the proceedings with prayer, had another solemn duty to perform: it was, to announce the signal of departure to those who must remain in the Church no longer; it was like the “Let us go hence!” which was heard at midnight in the temple of Jerusalem, when that glorious structure was about to pass away. Rising from his chair, and addressing one of the densest crowds that ever filled a place of worship, but all hushed in the death-like silence of expectation, he announced that he could proceed with the Assembly no further. Their privileges had been violated and their liberties subverted, so that they could no longer act as a supreme court of the Church of Scotland; and these reasons, set forth at full length in the document which he held in his hand, he, with their permission, would now read to them. He then read to them the well-known protest of the Free Church of Scotland; and having ended, he bowed respectfully to the commissioner, left his chair of office, and slowly passed to the door. Dr. Chalmers, who stood beside him, like one absorbed in some recollection of the past, or dream of the future, started, seized his hat, and hurried after the retiring moderator, as if eager to be gone. A long stream followed; and as bench after bench was emptied of those who thus sacrificed home, and living, and station in society at the call of conscience, the onlookers gazed as if all was an unreal phantasmagoria, or at least an incomprehensible anomaly. But the hollow echoes of the building soon told them that it was a stern reality which they had witnessed. More than four hundred ministers, and a still greater number of elders, who but a few moments ago occupied these places, had now departed, never to return.

In the meantime George Street, one of the widest streets of Edinburgh, in which St. Andrew’s church is situated, was filled—nay, wedged—not with thousands, but myriads of spectators, who waited impatiently for the result. Every eye was fixed upon the building, and every tongue was impatient with the question, “Will they come out?”—“When will they come out?” At length the foremost of the retiring ministers appeared at the church porch, and onward came the long procession, the multitudes dividing with difficulty before their advance, and hardly giving them room to pass three abreast. Well, then, they had indeed come out! and it was difficult to tell whether the applauding shouts or sympathizing tears of that heaving sea of people predominated. Onward slowly went that procession, extending nearly a quarter of a mile in length, down towards Tanfield, where a place of meeting had been prepared for them in anticipation of the event. It was a building constructed on the model of a Moorish Hambra, such as might have loomed over an orange-grove in Grenada during the days of the Zegris and Abencerrages; but which now, strangely

enough, was to receive a band of Scottish ministers, and witness the work of constituting a Presbyterian church. The hall, which could contain 3000 sitters, had been crowded from an early hour with those who, in the faith that the ministers would redeem their promises, had come to witness what would follow. This new General Assembly Dr. Welch opened with prayer, even as he had, little more than an hour previous, opened the old; after which, it was his office to propose the moderator who should succeed him. And this he did by naming Dr. Chalmers, amidst a tempest of approving acclamation. "Surely it is a good omen," he added, "or, I should say, a token for good from the Great Disposer of all events, that I can propose to hold this office an individual who, by the efforts of his genius and his virtues, is destined to hold so conspicuous a place in the eyes of all posterity. But this, I feel, is taking but a low view of the subject. His genius has been devoted to the service of his Heavenly Master, and his is the high honour promised to those who, having laboured successfully in their Master's cause, and turned many to righteousness, are to 'shine as the stars for ever and ever.'" Dr. Chalmers took the chair accordingly; and who can guess the feelings that may have animated him, or the thoughts that may have passed through his mind, at such a moment? He had lived, he had wrought, and this was the result! A man of peace, he had been thrown into ecclesiastical controversy; a humble-minded minister, he had been borne onward to the front of a great national movement, and been recognized as its suggester and leader. And while he had toiled from year to year in doubt and despondency, events had been so strangely overruled, that his aims for the purification of the old Church had ended in the creation of a new. And of that new Church the General Assembly was now met, while he was to preside in it as moderator. That this, too, was really a national Church, and not a mere sectarian offshoot, was attested by the fact of 470 ministers standing before him as its representatives; while the public sympathy in its behalf was also represented by the crowded auditory who looked on, and followed each successive movement with a solicitude far deeper than mere transient excitement. All this was a mighty achievement—a glorious victory, which posterity would be proud to chronicle. But in his opening address he reminded them of the example given by the apostles of our Lord; and by what followed, he showed the current into which his mind had now subsided. "Let us not forget," he said, "in the midst of this rejoicing, the deep humility that pervaded their songs of exultation; the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness; and then courage inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which was to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our Church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and in the transition we are making, it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these—'Not I, but the grace of God in me;' and, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.'"

Such was the formation and such the commencement of the Free Church of Scotland. And now it might have seemed that Dr. Chalmers should be permitted to retire to that peaceful life of study and meditation in which he so longed that the evening of his day should close. But the formation of the new Church, instead of finishing his labours, was only to open up a new sphere of trial and difficulty that imperiously demanded the uttermost of his exertions, and which only promised to terminate when his own life had ended. To him

there was to be no repose, save in that place where the "weary are at rest." But great though the sacrifice was, he did not shrink from the obligation. The financial affairs of the church which he had originated, and which were still in their new-born infancy, required his fostering care; and therefore he undertook the charge of the Sustentation Fund out of which the dispossessed ministers were to be supported; and not only maintained a wide correspondence, but performed a laborious tour in its behalf. And, truly, it was a difficult and trying office, where money was to be raised on the one hand entirely from voluntary benevolence, and distributed on the other among those who outnumbered its amount, and whose share had to be apportioned accordingly. All this, however, he endured till 1845, when, from very exhaustion, he was obliged to let the burden fall from his shoulders, and be taken up by younger hands, with the declaration—"It is not a matter of choice, but of physical necessity. I have neither the vigour nor the alertness of former days; and the strength no longer remains with me, either for the debates of the Assembly, or for the details of committees and their correspondence." This, too, was not the only, or perhaps even the most important task which the necessities of the disruption had devolved upon him. A college must be established, and that forthwith, for the training of an accomplished and efficient ministry; and here also Dr. Chalmers was in requisition. His office of theological professor in the university of Edinburgh was resigned as soon as his connection with the Established Church had ceased; but this was followed by his appointment to the offices of principal and primarius professor of divinity in the new institution which the Free Church contemplated. Here, then, was a college to create, as well as its duties to discharge; and how well these duties were discharged till the last hour of his life, the present generation of preachers and ministers who were his pupils can well and warmly attest. To his capacious and active mind, the mere gin-horse routine into which such professorial employments had too often degenerated, would have been not only an absolute mockery, but a downright torture; and therefore he was "in season out of season" in the subjects he taught, as well as his modes of educational training, esteeming no labour too much that could either impart new ideas or fresh enthusiasm to those whom he was rearing for the most important of all occupations. And even independently of this impulse which his labours thus communicated to the main-spring of action in the mechanism of the Free Church, the fact of his merely holding office there was of the highest importance to the college. No literary institution, however lowly in aspect or poor in endowments, could be insignificant, or even of a second-rate character, that had a man of such world-wide reputation at its head. The college is now a stately edifice, while the staff of theological professors with which it is supplied is the fullest and most complete of all our similar British institutions.

But amidst all this accumulated pressure of labour, under which even Dr. Chalmers had well nigh sunk, and the fresh blaze of reputation that fell upon his decline of life, making it brighter than his fullest noon-day—both alike the consequences of that new position which he occupied—there was one favourite duty of which he had never lost sight. It was the elevation of the ground-story of human society from the mud in which it was imbedded—the regeneration of our town *pariahs* into intelligent, virtuous, and useful citizens, by the agency of intellectual and religious education. This he had attempted in Glasgow, both in the Tron and St. John's parish; he had continued it, though with more

limited means, and upon a smaller scale, in St. Andrews; and but for his more onerous avocations in Edinburgh, which had engrossed him without intermission since his arrival in the northern capital, he would have made the attempt there also. But still he felt as if he could not enjoy the brief term of life that yet remained for him, or finally forego it with comfort, unless he made one other attempt in behalf of an experiment from which he had never ceased to hope for the most satisfactory results. Since the time that he had commenced these labours in Glasgow, he had seen much of society in its various phases, and largely amplified his experience of its character and requirements; but all had only the more convinced him that the lower orders, hitherto neglected, must be sought in their dens and hovels—that they must be solicited into the light of day and the usages of civilization—and that there the schoolmaster and the minister should be ready to meet them more than half-way. Without this “aggressive system,” this “excavating process,” by which the deep recesses of a crowded city were to be quarried, and its dark corners penetrated and pervaded, these destitute localities might be studded with churches and schools to no purpose. And the manner in which such a population were to be sought and won, he had also fully and practically demonstrated by his former experiments as a minister. Let but a district, however benighted, be divided into sections, where each tenement or close could have its own zealous, benevolent superintendent, and dull and obdurate indeed must the inhabitants of that territory be, if they could long continue to resist such solicitations. His first wish was, that the Free Church should have embarked in such a hopeful enterprise; but its experience was as yet so limited, and its difficulties so many, that it was not likely, during his own life-time at least, that it could carry on a home mission upon so extensive a scale. He therefore resolved to try the good work himself, and leave the result as a sacred legacy, for the imitation of the Church and posterity at large. “I have determined,” he wrote to a friend in 1844, “to assume a poor district of 2000 people, and superintend it myself, though it be a work greatly too much for my declining strength and means. Yet such do I hold to be the efficiency of the method, with the Divine blessing, that, perhaps, as the concluding act of my public life, I shall make the effort to exemplify what as yet I have only expounded.” *Only* expounded? This truly was humble language from one who had already *done* so much!

The place selected for this benevolent trial was the most unhopeful that could be found in Edinburgh. It was the West Port, a district too well known in former years by the murders of Burke and Hare, and to which such an infamy still attached, that many of its inhabitants lived as if a good character were unattainable, and therefore not worth striving for. Its population consisted of about two thousand souls, the very sediment of the Edinburgh lower orders, who seem to have sunk into this loathesome locality because they could sink no farther. To cleanse, nay, even to enter this Augean stable, required no ordinary firmness of senses as well as nerve, where sight, touch, smell, and hearing were successively assailed to the uttermost. Dr. Chalmers, undaunted by the result of a survey, mapped this Alsatia into twenty districts, of about twenty families a-piece, over which were appointed as many visitors—men animated with his spirit, and imbued with his views, whose task was to visit every family once a-week, engage with them in kindly conversation, present them with useful tracts, and persuade them to join with them in the reading of Scripture and in prayer. A school was also opened for the young in the very close of the Burke and Hare murders,

but not a charity school; on the contrary, the feeling of independence, and the value of education, were to be impressed upon this miserable population, by exacting a fee of 2d. per week from each pupil—for Dr. Chalmers well knew, that even wiser people than those of the West Port are apt to feel that what costs them nothing is worth nothing. All this he explained to them at a full meeting in the old deserted tannery, where the school was to be opened; and so touched were the people with his kindness, as well as persuaded by his homely forcible arguments, that on the 11th of November, 1844, the day on which the school was opened, sixty-four day scholars and fifty-seven evening scholars were entered, who in the course of a year increased to 250. And soon was the excellence of this educational system evinced by the dirty becoming tidy, and the unruly orderly; and children who seemed to have neither home nor parent, and who, when grown up, would have been without a country and without a God, were rescued from the prostitution, ruffianism, and beggary which seemed to be their natural inheritance, and trained into the full promise of becoming useful and virtuous members of society. Thus the cleansing commenced at the bottom of the sink, where all the mephytic vapours were engendered. But still this was not enough, as long as the confirming power of religion was wanting, and therefore the church followed close upon its able pioneer, the school. On the 22d of December, the tan-loft was opened by Dr. Chalmers for public worship, at which no more than a dozen of grown people, chiefly old women, at first attended. But this handful gradually grew into a congregation under the labours of Dr. Chalmers and his staff of district visitors, so that a minister and regular edifice for worship were at last in demand. And never in the stateliest metropolitan pulpit—no, not even when he lectured in London, while prelate and prince held their breath to listen—had the heart of Dr. Chalmers been more cordially or enthusiastically in his work, than when he addressed his squalid auditory in that most sorry of upper rooms in the West Port. And this, his prayers which he penned on the Sabbath evening in his study at Morningside fully confirmed: “It is yet but the day of small things with us; and I in all likelihood shall be taken off ere that much greater progress is made in the advancement of the blessed gospel throughout our land. But give me the foretaste and the confident foresight of this great Christian and moral triumph ere I die. Let me at least, if it be by Thy blessed will, see—though it be only in one or in a small number of specimens—a people living in some district of aliens, as the West Port, reclaimed at least into willing and obedient hearers, afterwards in Thine own good time to become the doers of Thy word. Give me, O Lord, a token for the larger accomplishment of this good ere I die!” Such were his heavenward breathings and aspirations upon the great trial that was at issue in the most hopeless of civic districts, upon the overwhelming question of our day. Would it yet be shown in the example of the West Port, that the means of regenerating the mass of society are so simple, and withal so efficacious? The trial is still in progress, but under the most hopeful auspices. Yet his many earnest prayers were answered. Money was soon collected for the building of a commodious school-room, and model-houses for workmen, and also for a territorial church. The last of these buildings was finished, and opened by Dr. Chalmers for public worship on the 19th of February, 1847; and on the 25th of April he presided at its first celebration of the Lord’s Supper. When this was ended, he said to the minister of the West Port church: “I have got now the desire of my heart:—the church is finished, the schools are flourishing, our ecclesiastical

machinery is about complete, and all in good working order. God has indeed heard my prayer, and I could now lay down my head in peace and die."

As will be surmised from the foregoing account, Dr. Chalmers, from almost the commencement of his West Port operations, had a prophetic foreboding that this would prove the last of his public labours. Such, indeed, was the result, only a few weeks after this sacrament at the West Port, when, in full health, and with a strength that promised an extreme old age, he passed away in silence, and at midnight, and so instantaneously, that there seemed to have been not a moment of interval between his ending of life in time, and beginning of life in eternity. And this was at a season of triumph, when all was bright and gladdening around him; for the Free Church, with which he was so completely identified, had now 720 ministers, for whose congregations churches had been erected, with nearly half a million of money voluntarily contributed, besides a large amount for the building of manse; it had 600 schools, a college of nine professors, educating 340 students for the ministry, and two extensive normal seminaries for the training of teachers; while its missionaries were actively engaged in every quarter of the earth. He had just visited London upon the important subject of a national education; and after unfolding his views to some of our principal statesmen, he returned by the way of Gloucestershire, where he had many friends, with whom he enjoyed much delightful intercourse. He arrived at his home in Morningside on Friday, the 28th of May, while the General Assembly of the Free Church was sitting; and as he had a report to prepare for it, he employed himself in the task in the forenoon of Saturday. On the following day his conversation was animated with all its former eloquence, and more than its wonted cheerfulness; and in the evening, as he slowly paced through his garden, at the back of the house, the ejaculations of "O Father, my heavenly Father!" were overheard issuing from his lips, like the spontaneous utterances of an overflowing heart. He retired to rest at his wonted hour, intending to rise early on the following morning to finish his report: but when the hour of rising elapsed he did not appear; and on knocking at the bed-room door, no answer was returned. The apartment was entered, and Dr. Chalmers lay in bed as if in tranquil repose, but it was that repose which only the last trump can dispel. He had died, or rather he had passed away, about the hour of midnight; but every feature was so tranquil, and every muscle so composed, that it was evident he had died in an instant, without pain, and even without consciousness.

Such was the end of Dr. Chalmers on the night of the 30th of May, 1847, at the age of sixty-seven. His character it would be superfluous to sketch: that is impressed too indelibly and too plainly upon our country at large to require an interpreter. Thus Scotland felt, when such multitudes followed his remains to the grave as few kingly funerals have ever mustered. Nor will posterity be at a loss to know what a man Dr. Chalmers was. He now constitutes to all future time so essential a portion of Scottish history, that his name will be forgot only when Scotland itself will cease to be remembered.

COCHRANE, SIR ALEXANDER FORRESTER INGLIS, G.C.B.—This admiral belonged to a family of which the naval service is justly proud, being the ninth son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Dundonald, and consequently uncle to the present earl, better known by the name of Lord Cochrane. Alexander Cochrane was born on the 23d of April, 1758. Being destined for the sea service, he embarked at an early age; and, after the usual intermediate steps, was appointed lieutenant

in 1778. In this capacity he acted as signal-officer to Lord Rodney, in the action with de Guichen and the French fleet on the 17th April, 1780, off Martinique; and it is evident, from the complicated manoeuvres which the British commander was obliged to adopt in bringing the enemy to action, that Lieutenant Cochrane's office on this occasion was one of great trust. After the action his name was returned among the list of the wounded. His next step of promotion was the command of the *St. Lucia*, sloop of war, and afterwards of the *Pachahunter*, which last command he subsequently exchanged with Sir Isaac Coffin for that of the *Avenger*, an armed sloop employed in the North River in America. At the end of 1782 he was appointed, with the rank of post-captain, to the command of the *Kangaroo*, and afterwards to the *Caroline*, of 24 guns, employed on the American station.

After peace was established with our North American colonies, by which the latter were confirmed as an independent government, Captain Cochrane's occupation for the time was ended; and he spent several years in retirement, until he was called again to service in 1790, in the prospect of a rupture with Spain. On this occasion he was appointed to the command of a small frigate, the *Hind*, when, on the renewal of hostilities with France, he was removed to the *Thetis*, of 42 guns and 261 men. With such means at his disposal he soon showed himself an active, bold, and successful cruiser, so that, during the spring and summer of 1793, he captured eight French privateers, mounting in all above eighty guns. In 1795 he also signalized himself by a bold attack upon five French sail off Chesapeake, being aided by the *Hussar*, a British frigate of 34 guns, and succeeded in capturing one of the largest vessels, the rest having made their escape after they had struck. Several years of service on the coast of America succeeded, in which Captain Cochrane made important captures of not a few French privateers, and established his character as an able naval commander; so that, in February, 1799, he was appointed to the *Ajax*, of 80 guns, and sent in the following year upon the expedition against Quiberon, Belleisle, and Ferrol. This expedition, as is well known, was all but useless, as the French royalists, whom it was sent to aid, were too helpless to co-operate with the invaders. The *Ajax*, having subsequently joined the fleet on the Mediterranean station, under the command of Lord Keith, proceeded to Egypt as part of the convoy of Abercromby's expedition for the expulsion of the French from that country; and on this occasion the professional talents of Captain Cochrane were brought into full play. He was commissioned by Lord Keith to superintend the landing of the British troops; and this disembarkation, performed so successfully in the face of so many difficulties, will ever constitute a more important episode in history than a victory won in a pitched field. With such admirable skill were the naval and military details of this process conducted, and so harmoniously did the two services combine on the occasion, that a landing, which on ordinary occasions might have been attended with utter defeat, or the loss of half an army, was effected with only 20 sailors and 102 soldiers killed. At the capture of Alexandria, by which the war in Egypt was successfully terminated, Captain Cochrane, with a detachment of armed vessels, was stationed on the lake Mærotis, to protect the advance of the British troops upon the city, a duty which he performed with his wonted ability. So valuable, indeed, had his services been during the six months of the Egyptian campaign, that at the end of it they were most honourably mentioned in the despatches of Lord Keith, as well as those of General Hutchinson, by whom Abercromby was succeeded.

The peace of Amiens occasioned the return of the Ajax to England in February, 1802, and Cochrane, with the true restlessness of a landed sailor, as well as the true patriotism of a good British subject, still wished to do something for his country. He accordingly turned his attention to Parliament, and became a candidate for the representation of the united boroughs of Stirling, Dunfermline, &c., at the general election that had now occurred. As the votes for Sir John Henderson, his antagonist, and himself were equal, a contest ensued that was followed by petition, and the result was that in 1804, after a long investigation, Cochrane's election was confirmed. Two years after the wind completely changed, for at the election of 1806 Henderson was elected. The quarter-deck, and not the hustings, was the proper arena for Cochrane. Fortunately for him that arena he continued to occupy even during this period of political altercation; for the peace, or rather hollow truce of Amiens was at an end while the ink was scarcely dry upon the paper, and in 1803 he was appointed to the command of the Northumberland, 74; and in the following year he was sent out, with the rank of rear-admiral, to watch the port of Ferrol, in anticipation of a war with Spain. In 1805 he was commissioned to pursue a French squadron that had stolen out of the blockaded port of Rochefort. Its destination was unknown, but the most serious consequences were apprehended, as it consisted of five ships-of-the-line, three frigates, two brigs, and a schooner, and had 4000 troops on board. Cochrane went off with six ships-of-the-line in pursuit of these dangerous fugitives, and after a long cruise, in which the coasts of France and Spain, and the West India Islands, were successively visited and explored, he found it impossible to come in sight of his nimble fear-stricken adversaries: all that he could learn of their whereabouts was in the instances of a few paltry captures they had made of British merchantmen, and their throwing a supply of troops into the town of St. Domingo. The timidity of this flying squadron was rewarded by a safe return to Rochefort, which they effected in spite of the British cruisers that were sent in all directions to intercept them. Admiral Cochrane then assumed the command of the Leeward Islands station, and joined Lord Nelson in his active pursuit after the combined fleets of France and Spain. In the following year (1806) he formed a junction with Vice-Admiral Sir John G. Duckworth, for the pursuit of a French squadron that had sailed from Brest to relieve the town of St. Domingo. On this occasion the French were overtaken, and in the action that followed, and which lasted nearly two hours, they were so utterly defeated, that of their five ships-of-the-line two were burnt, and the other three captured: nothing escaped but two frigates and a corvette. On this occasion Cochrane's ship, the Northumberland, which had been in the hottest of the fire, had by far the greatest number of killed and wounded, while himself had a narrow escape, his hat being knocked off his head by a grape-shot. So important were his services on this occasion, that he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and of the corporation of London; while the latter, not confining itself to verbal acknowledgments, presented him with the honour of the city, and a sword of the value of a hundred guineas. This was not all; for the underwriters at Barbadoes presented him with a piece of plate valued at £500; and the committee of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's with a vase worth £300. The honour of knighthood crowned these rewards of his highly-valued achievements, and on the 29th of March, 1806, he was created Knight of the Bath. Nothing could more highly attest the estimation in which his exploit at St. Domingo was held,

than that so many acknowledgments should have rewarded it, at a season, too, when gallant actions at sea were events of every-day occurrence.

Soon after, war was declared against Denmark; and on hearing of this, Sir A. Cochrane concerted measures with General Bowyer for the reduction of St. Thomas, St. John's, and St. Croix, islands belonging to the Danish crown. In a few months the whole were captured, along with a valuable fleet of Danish merchantmen. His next service was in the reduction of Martinique, where he co-operated with General Beckwith; and for this acquisition, he and his gallant land partner received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. The reduction of Guadaloupe followed, in which both commanders joined, and were equally successful; and in 1810 Cochrane, in reward of his services, was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Guadaloupe and its dependencies. In this situation he continued till 1813, when a war with the United States called him once more into action. He was appointed to the command of the fleet on the coast of North America, and on assuming office, he shut up and watched the ports of the United States with a most vigilant and effectual blockade. Soon after this the universal peace ensued, which has only of late been terminated, and in 1815 Sir Alexander Cochrane returned to England. He was raised to the rank of full admiral in 1819, and held the office of commander-in-chief at Plymouth from 1821 to 1824.

The brave old admiral, like the rest of his cotemporaries of the land and sea service, was now obliged to change a life of action for one of repose, and find enjoyment in the tranquillity of home, and the pleasures of social intercourse. In this manner he passed the rest of his days, honoured and beloved by all who knew him. His death, which occurred at Paris, was fearfully sudden. Accompanied by his brother he went, on the morning of the 26th of January, 1832, to visit his daughter, Lady Trowbridge, for the purpose of inviting his young grand-children to an evening entertainment; but while he was affectionately caressing them he suddenly started, placed his hand on his left side, and exclaiming to Mr. Cochrane, "O brother, what a dreadful pain!" he fell back into his arms, and instantly expired.

COMBE, ANDREW, M.D.—This excellent physician and physiologist was the fifteenth child, and seventh son of Mr. George Combe, brewer, at Livingston's Yards, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, and Marion Newton, his wife, and was born on the 27th of October, 1797. After being educated in the initiatory branches at a private seminary, he was sent at the age of eight to the High School of Edinburgh, and having continued there at the study of Latin and Greek for five years, he went to the university, where, in the course of two seasons, he contrived to forget what Latin he had learned at school, and become a respectable Grecian. But with all this teaching of dead languages, his own was allowed to shift as it might, so that, although he could read Homer, he was unable to pen a tolerable ordinary epistle. Like many others under a similar process of teaching, and who have risen to distinction in the world of authorship in spite of such a perverted education, Andrew Combe, by the diligent self-cultivation of after years, acquired that mastery of the English language and excellence in composition, which his works so fully attest. After he had passed a sickly taciturn boyhood, and entered his fifteenth year, it was fitting that he should announce the future profession he meant to follow; but to every question on this head from his parents, his invariable answer was, "I'll no be naething." They understood these two negatives in the Scottish

acceptation, of course, and reckoning such a choice inexpedient in one of a family of seventeen children, his father chose for him the medical profession, into which the apathetic youth was to be inducted without further delay. Accordingly, in spite of all his struggles, Andrew was forced into a new suit of clothes, carried out of the house, and trotted along, by dint of pulling and pushing, to the dwelling of his future master, where he was bound and left—to an apprenticeship which he had no subsequent cause to regret.

After finishing his apprenticeship, during which he attended the usual medical course at the university and the public hospital, Andrew Combe, when he had entered upon his twentieth year, took the diploma of surgeon. Previous to this event his intellectual habits had received not only a fresh impulse, but also a new direction from the study of phrenology, which was introduced into Edinburgh through the arrival and lectures of Dr. Spurzheim. Of this science Mr. George Combe, afterwards its distinguished advocate, became an earnest student, and his younger brother Andrew was not long in following the example. The latter, however, when he had little more than commenced his inquiries in earnest upon the subject, went to Paris in 1817 to perfect himself in his professional studies. The Continent was now opened to Britain by the general peace, and our medical students were eager to avail themselves of the opportunity by completing their education in the French capital. Among the Parisian lecturers on the various departments of science whom Andrew Combe attended for this purpose, he was so fortunate as to be a pupil of Professor Dupuytren, to whose lessons so many of our most eminent physicians have been so deeply indebted. He also frequently associated in Paris with Dr. Spurzheim, by whom he was completely converted to a belief in that science by whose rules all his future habits of investigation were more or less directed. As this was a most important event in his life, it may be proper to give his own account of it:—"My attention was first seriously turned to the examination of these doctrines during my residence at Paris, in the autumn of 1818, when Dr. Spurzheim's '*Observations sur la Phrenologie*,' then just published, were happily put into my hands at a time when, from there being no lectures in any of the Parisian schools, I had ample leisure to peruse that work deliberately. I had not proceeded far before I became impressed with the acuteness and profundity of many of the author's remarks on the varied phenomena of human nature, and with the simplicity of the principles by which he explained what had previously seemed contradictory and unintelligible; and in proportion as I advanced, the scrupulousness of statement, sobriety of judgment, and moral earnestness with which he advocated his views and inculcated their importance, made me begin to apprehend that to condemn without inquiry was not the way to ascertain the truth of phrenology, or to become qualified to decide in a matter of medicine or of philosophy. I therefore resolved to pause, in order to make myself acquainted with the principles of the new physiology, and to resort, as he [Dr. Spurzheim] recommended, to observation and experience for the means of verifying or disproving their accuracy, before again hazarding an opinion on the subject." Thus prepared for examination and conviction, he examined and was convinced. After two years of such study the following conclusion was the result:—"Actuated by the natural feeling of improbability that so much should have been discovered in so short time by only two individuals, however eminent their talents and felicitous their opportunities, I still expected to meet with some important errors of detail; and, so far from being disposed to adopt implicitly all the pro-

positions of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, I rather looked for, and expected to find, some hasty conclusions or unsupported assumptions; and my surprise was extreme, to discover that, in the whole extent of their inquiry, they had proceeded with so much caution and accuracy as, in all their essential facts and inferences, to have rendered themselves apparently invulnerable." At the early age of twenty-one he thus became a firm believer in phrenology, and, unlike many others of his cotemporaries, he continued to believe in its principles and apply its rules to the last.

After a course of diligent study at Paris continued for nearly two years, and a tour through Switzerland, he returned to Edinburgh at the close of 1819. He was now ready, as far as professional knowledge and the encouragement of friends went, for the commencement of business as a medical practitioner; but, unfortunately, he needed for himself the aid which he should have imparted to others. In his rambles in Switzerland he had over-tasked his strength, and on returning to Edinburgh, a cold room and damp bed confirmed the evil. A voyage to Italy was judged necessary for his recovery, and he embarked at Greenock for Leghorn at the end of the following year. The cure was effectual, for he returned to Edinburgh in May, 1822, and soon after commenced practice as a surgeon, while his extensive family connection, and the reputation he had already acquired, soon procured him an extensive circle of occupation. At this time, also, he first appeared before the world as an author, in an essay "On the Effects of Injuries of the Brain upon the Manifestations of the Mind," which was first read before the Phrenological Society, and afterwards published in its "Transactions." In this way, he brought his beloved science into full play at the commencement of his public life, not only in a literary but also a professional capacity, notwithstanding the obloquy and derision with which it was generally treated at this period. And this integrity was not without its reward. "My advocacy of phrenology," he stated, in a lecture before the Andersonian Institution of Glasgow, "did not prove any impediment in my professional career; on the contrary, it in many respects extended my field of usefulness, and greatly contributed to my happiness, by giving a more definite and consistent direction to the faculties which I possess. No doubt, some who might otherwise have employed me, were at first deterred by their prejudices from doing so; but their place was more than supplied by others, who, in their turn, would not have sought my advice except for phrenology; and ere long many even of the prejudiced ventured to return, and ultimately took place among my warmest friends. . . . In the private relations of life, also, I have derived the utmost advantage from the lights of phrenology, and have gained a firmer hold on the confidence of my patients, by pointing out to them its great practical value in conducting the intellectual and moral training of the young, in promoting mutual forbearance and general kindness of intercourse, and thereby adding to their general means of happiness." In 1823, while the phrenological controversy was at its height, Mr. Combe again entered the field in its defence, by an essay entitled, "Observations on Dr. Barclay's Objections to Phrenology," which was also published in the "Transactions" of the Society. In the same year he, in conjunction with four others, established the "Phrenological Journal," to which he was an active contributor till his death. In 1836, he collected the most important of these articles, and published them in a separate volume. Eager to extend the knowledge of a science to which he was so devoted, and justify its claims to universal attention, he also hazarded their

introduction into a quarter where they were little likely to appear without a severe examination. This was in the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, of which he was a member, and before which he was obliged in his turn to write a dissertation upon a subject selected by a committee of the society. The question proposed in 1823 was, "Does Phrenology afford a satisfactory explanation of the Moral and Intellectual Faculties of Man?" and Mr. Combe was appropriately selected to write the dissertation. He set to work upon the question *con amore*, and produced a digest of all he had learned, thought, and observed, to bear upon the affirmative, while the discussions that followed upon the subject occupied two nights of earnest debate before crowded audiences. This able article, which was first published in the "Phrenological Journal," was also included in the volume of selections to which we have already alluded. In 1825, he graduated as Doctor of Medicine, and on that occasion chose for the subject of his thesis, "The Seat and Nature of Hypochondriasis," which was also published in an enlarged form in the "Phrenological Journal," and the "Selections."

In commencing the medical art, first as surgeon and afterwards as doctor, Combe was made aware of two faults which, in his course of practice, he carefully laboured to avoid. The first was the practice of never interposing until the crisis of danger had arrived. No rules were prescribed, either to avoid a disease or escape the repetition of an attack after the first had been conquered. As long as the patient was upon his legs he might use what diet or exercise he pleased: upon all this the man of healing was silent; he thought it enough to come in at the moment of danger, and treat the sufferer *secundum artem* until the danger was over, without troubling himself about the morrow; and if fresh excesses produced a deadlier renewal of the malady, he was ready to double the dose, and proportion the penance to the evil. The homely proverb, that "prevention is better than cure," was too vulgar a rule for scientific notice; and it was only when the disease fairly showed face that a doctor girded himself for the onset. This was anything but satisfactory to Dr. Combe; and, in his treatment of every malady, he was more solicitous to prevent its occurrence than to show his professional prowess by overcoming it at its height; and if the constitution of the patient made the disease a natural tendency, his medical skill was exerted in showing how the coming of the evil might be retarded, or its inflictions softened. Hence his carefulness in inculcating the rules of diet and exercise, of ablution and ventilation, which, homely and common-place as they are, and therefore deemed unsuited to a learned physician, are yet the true essentials of the healing art. Another fault which he was also careful to avoid, was that of dictating to the patient the medical regulations that were to be strictly followed, without assigning a cause, or enlisting his reason in their behalf. A blind, implicit faith was exclusively demanded by too many of our medical practitioners, and the remedy was to be used without question or scruple. Dr. Combe saw that, however this pope-like assumption of infallibility might gratify the vanity of the physician, it was little likely to benefit the patient, more especially if his faith was of that unruly kind that requires argument and proof. He therefore tried to enlist the reason of the patient in behalf of the rules prescribed for his cure, and showed so much of the nature, origin, and tendencies of the disease as would enable him to co-operate in its removal. "The consequences of this mode of proceeding," says his biographer, "were equally beneficial to his patients and to himself. They became convinced that

it was nature that was dealing with them, and that, although they might 'cheat the doctor,' they could not arrest the progress of her evolutions, or escape from aggravated evils, if they obstructed the course of her sanative action. Under these convictions, they obeyed his injunctions with earnestness and attention. By being premonished of approaching symptoms, which were frequently steps in the progress of the cure, but which, if not explained, might have been regarded as aggravations of the malady, they were saved from much alarm, and he from many unnecessary calls and attendances. His present biographer had ample opportunities of remarking how few messages, even during the busiest seasons of his practice, came to him from patients under treatment, and how very rarely he was called upon to visit them during the night. He ascribed this comparative immunity from nocturnal calls to the explanations and pre arrangements now adverted to."

It was not till 1831 that Dr. Combe appeared as the author of a separate work, as his productions had hitherto been articles and essays, which were afterwards published in the form of pamphlets. Among the subjects he had studied in connection with phrenology, was that of insanity; and from its importance, as well as the general interest which several cases of mental disease had lately excited, he resolved to give at full length the fruits of his study on this painful malady, with a view to its prevention, amelioration, and cure. The title of the work he published was, "Observations on Mental Derangement; being an application of the Principles of Phrenology to the elucidation of the Causes, Symptoms, Nature, and Treatment of Insanity." After this his close application to professional duties, in which he embarked with his whole heart, and the physiological studies that occupied every moment of his leisure time, so exhausted his delicate constitution, that intermission and change of climate were again found necessary; and accordingly he spent the winter of 1831-32 in Italy, and the following year in Edinburgh, London, and Paris. In 1834, though his health was still infirm, he published in Edinburgh "The Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health, and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education." This work was so favourably received, and continued to be so highly valued, that at the period of his death 28,000 copies of it had been sold, exclusive of the numerous editions that had been published in the United States of North America. So highly was Dr. Combe's professional reputation now established, that in 1836 he was honoured with the appointment of Physician to the King of the Belgians. This occasioned two visits to Brussels during the same year. At the same time he published his "Physiology of Digestion, considered with relation to the Principles of Dietetics," which went through nine editions. In 1838 Dr. Combe was appointed one of the Physicians Extraordinary to the Queen in Scotland, an office of professional honour merely, as no salary is attached to it. In 1840 he published "A Treatise on the Physiological and Moral Management of Infancy; being a practical exposition of the Principles of Infant Training, for the use of Parents." This work, which was highly esteemed, and obtained an extensive circulation, he continued to improve till his death. His last effort in authorship was an article on phrenology, which was published in the "British and Foreign Medical Review" for January, 1840.

Enough has been said in the foregoing narrative to show that Dr. Combe, although so able a physician, was himself often in need of the benefits of the healing art. Originally of a delicate and consumptive constitution, through which

the activity and application of his early youth had been frequently checked, his maladies had increased from year to year, so that in 1834 he was obliged to renounce the more active part of his profession, and confine himself to consulting practice. His constitution rallied in consequence of this relief, and from 1837 to 1841 he enjoyed a better state of health than he had hitherto experienced. At a later period, however, his ailments returned, and with so permanent a hold, as convinced him that, however lingering his last illness might be, it had now commenced in good earnest. Still, however, his wonted tranquillity, and even cheerfulness, were unabated; and to the last he continued to correspond with his friends upon those important subjects which had formed the great study of his life. At length, by the recommendation of his medical advisers, he tried the effect of the climate of Madeira, to which island he repaired in November 1842. After having dwelt a few months there and returned home, he was obliged to make a second visit to Madeira, where he wintered during 1843-44. As voyaging was found beneficial in protracting at least the inevitable termination of his disease, he tried the effect of a trip to New York in the spring of 1847. But this, the last, was the most unfortunate of all his voyages, for the vessel in which he sailed carried 360 steerage passengers, chiefly Irish emigrants; and as the steerage extended from stern to stern of the vessel, the cabin overhead was pervaded during the whole passage with a sickening atmosphere, the effect of which accelerated his dissolution. Having made a three weeks' sojourn in New York, he returned to Scotland; and only six weeks subsequently he died, after a short illness, on the 9th of August, 1847. He had thus only reached the age of fifty, but the chief subject of wonder is, that he had lived so long and done so much. He could never have held out so well but for his close and conscientious attention to those rules of health which he recommended to others; and thus, although he might be considered a dying man at the age of confirmed manhood, he was permitted to enjoy that which, above every other earthly blessing, he most valued—a life of thorough and benevolent usefulness. Even to the last he was thus occupied; and when the pen dropped from his fingers, it was in the act of writing to a friend for information about the regulations of emigrant vessels, as he was at that time employed, during the brief intervals of his last illness, in preparing a communication upon the ship-fever, which in that year was so fatal in the statistics of British emigration. "Dr. Combe belonged," as is well observed by one who intimately knew and deeply loved him, "to that rare class of physicians who present professional knowledge in connection with the powers of a philosophical intellect; and yet, in practical matters, appear constantly under the guidance of a rich natural sagacity. All his works are marked by a peculiar earnestness, lucidity, and simplicity, characteristic of the author; they present hygienic principles, with a clearness for which we know no parallel in medical literature. To this must be ascribed much of the extraordinary success they have met with; and on this quality, undoubtedly rests no small portion of their universally acknowledged utility. . . . The personal character and private life of Dr. Combe formed a beautiful and harmonious commentary upon his writings. In the bosom of his family, and the limited social circle to which his weakly health confined him, he was the same benignant and gentle being whom the world finds addressing it in these compositions. . . . Kindly and cordial to all, he did not seem to feel as if he could have an enemy; and therefore, we believe, he never had one. It might almost have been said that he was too gentle and unobtrusive; and so his friends,

perhaps, would have thought him, had it not, on the other hand, appeared as the most befitting character of one who, they all knew, was not to be long spared to them, and on whom the hues of a brighter and more angelic being seemed already to be shed."

COOK, Rev. GEORGE, D.D.—This learned divine and ecclesiastical historian was born at St. Andrews in 1773. His education was conducted at the schools and colleges of his native city, at that time distinguished for its high literary character and the eminent men it produced, while his subsequent career fully showed how well he had availed himself of such opportunities of mental improvement. From the early period of boyhood, the studies of George Cook had been directed towards the church, in which his family had considerable influence; and at the age of twenty-two he was ordained minister of Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire. On settling down into such a tranquil residence, the young divine did not resign himself either to rural indolence or literary epicurism; on the contrary, his studies were of the most laborious, indefatigable character, as well as directed to the highest interests of his sacred profession; and it was while minister of Laurencekirk that he produced most of those works by which his fame was extended over the world of ecclesiastical literature. As an author, his first work, published in 1803, was "Illustrations of the general Evidence establishing Christ's Resurrection." His next, in 1811, was the "History of the Reformation," the most popular of all his works, until it was eclipsed by the more attractive productions upon the same subject at a later period, and by writers possessing more ample opportunities of information, of whom we need scarcely mention the name of D'Aubigné. After this work in general ecclesiastical history, Dr. Cook turned his attention to that part of it which concerned his own church and country, and published, in 1815, the "History of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolution," a work in which the research was of the most trying character, so many of the materials being at that time in obscure, moth-eaten manuscript, which have since been printed mainly through the public spirit of our antiquarian societies. In 1820 appeared his "Life of Principal Hill," and in 1822 his "View of Christianity."

The learning and talent displayed in these works, as well as the important subjects which they illustrated, and the high interests which they were designed to advance, naturally brought Dr. Cook into the front rank of the most talented of his clerical brethren, and in church courts his opinions obtained that ascendancy to which they were so justly entitled. To these also were added the highest honorary distinctions which our primitive national church, so jealous of the doctrine of Presbyterian parity, reluctantly accords to the most favoured of her children. Thus, in 1825, he was moderator of the General Assembly, and in the following year he was appointed a member of the royal commission for examining into the state of our Scottish universities. He was also appointed dean of the order of the Thistle, and one of his Majesty's chaplains.

On the death of Dr. Inglis, which occurred in 1834, the leadership of his party in the church, which that eminent divine had so ably conducted, was by universal choice conceded to Dr. Cook. Always a situation of difficulty and trouble, even in the most quiescent periods of our church's history, it was peculiarly so at the present crisis; for the Moderate party, which Dr. Cook headed, and that for so long a period had been in the ascendancy, had now lost its prestige; and the evangelical portion of the church, already increased from a handful

into an army, and backed by the popular suffrage, which had always inclined to it since the days of the Solemn League and Covenant, was advancing with all the energy of a newly reascitated cause, and giving certain promise that at no distant day it would recover the superiority which it had formerly enjoyed. Against such an onward tide it was not wonderful if Dr. Cook and his brethren were unable to make head, although they struggled bravely and to the last. Consistently with the principles which he had adopted from the beginning, and advocated on every occasion, both as an author and a divine, Dr. Cook could not be expected to sympathize with the opposite party in their claims for the abolition of patronage, and the entire exemption of the Church from State control, and accordingly he contested every step of ground with a zeal and honesty equal to their own. At length the result took him as completely by surprise as it did the wisest politicians and profoundest calculators of the day. The memorable 18th of May, 1843, occurred, on which the disruption of the Kirk of Scotland took place; and when, after it had been confidently asserted that not even twenty ministers would abandon their livings, nearly five hundred rose from their places in the General Assembly, bade a final farewell to the Established Church, with which they could no longer conscientiously agree, and departed to form, at whatever sacrifice or risk, a church more consistent with their principles. It was a melancholy spectacle, a stunning blow to the upright affectionate heart of the leader of the Moderates. The labours of his past public life were thus destroyed by a single stroke, and while history recorded the calamitous event, he must have guessed that it would reproach him as one of the chief causes of the evil. And besides, in that departing train, whose self-sacrificing devotedness he was well disposed to acknowledge, how many were there whom he had revered for their commanding talents, and loved for their piety and worth, but who were now lost for ever to the church with which he was identified, and whom he must henceforth meet or pass by as the ministers of a rival and hostile cause! Such to Dr. Cook was the disruption; and, although his own party exonerated him from blame, while his church still continued as before to be directed by his counsels, the rest of his life was clouded by the recollection of an event which the best men, whether of the Free or Established Church, will never cease to regret.

The latter years of Dr. Cook's life were spent at St. Andrews, as he had been appointed to the chair of Moral Philosophy in its university, in the room of Dr. Chalmers, when the latter was called to Edinburgh. Here his end was sudden, his death having been instantaneous, and occasioned by the rupture of a blood-vessel, while he was walking in the Kirk Wynd, on his way to the college library. This melancholy event occurred on the forenoon of the 13th of May, 1845. It is much to be regretted that a man of such talent and worth should as yet have found no biographer among the many who, while he lived, availed themselves of his counsels, and were proud to be numbered among his friends. It is not yet too late.

CUNNINGHAM, ALLAN.—This distinguished poet entered the world under those lowly circumstances, and was educated under those disadvantages, which have so signally characterized the history of the best of our Scottish bards. He was born at Blackwood, in Dumfriesshire, in 1785, and was the fourth son of his parents, who were persons in the humblest ranks of life. One circumstance, however, connected with his ancestry, must have gratified the Tory and feudal predilections of Allan Cunningham; for his family had been of wealth and

worship, until one of his forefathers lost the patrimonial estate, by siding with Montrose during the wars of the Commonwealth. A more useful circumstance for his future career was his father's love of Scottish antiquarianism, which induced him to hoard up every tale, ballad, and legend connected with his native country—a love which Allan quickly acquired and successfully prosecuted. Like the children of the Scottish peasantry, he was sent to school at a very early age; but he does not seem to have been particularly fortunate in the two teachers under whom he was successively trained, for they were stern Cameronians; and it was probably under their scrupulous and over-strict discipline that he acquired that tendency to laugh at religious ascetism which so often breaks out in his writings. He was removed from this undesirable tuition at the tender age of eleven, and bound apprentice to a stone-mason; but he still could enjoy the benefit of his father's instructions, whom he describes as possessing "a warm heart, lively fancy, benevolent humour, and pleasant happy wit." Another source of training which the young apprentice enjoyed, was the "tryates" and "rockings" so prevalent in his day—rural meetings, in which the mind of Burns himself was prepared for the high office of being the national poet of Scotland. The shadows of these delightful "ploys" still linger in Nithsdale, and some of the more remote districts of Ayrshire; and it is pleasing to recal them to memory, for the sake of those great minds they nursed, before they have passed away for ever. They were complete trials of festivity and wit, where to sing a good song, tell a good story, or devise a happy impromptu, was the great aim of the lads and lasses, assembled from miles around to the peat fire of a kitchen hearth; and where the corypheus of the joyful meeting was the "long-remembered beggar" of the district; one who possessed more songs and tales than all the rest of the country besides, and who, on account of the treasures of this nature, which he freely imparted, was honoured as a public benefactor, and preferred to the best seat in the circle, instead of being regarded as a public burden. But the schoolmaster and the magistrate are now abroad; and while the rockings are fast disappearing, the Edie Ochiltree who inspired them is dying in the almshouse. May they be succeeded in this age of improving change by better schools and more rational amusements!

While the youth of Allan Cunningham was trained under this tuition, he appears also to have been a careful reader of every book that came within his reach. This is evident from the multifarious knowledge which his earliest productions betokened. He had also commenced the writing of poetry at a very early period, having been inspired by the numerous songs and ballads with which the poetical district of Nithsdale is stored. When about the age of eighteen, he seems to have been seized with an earnest desire to visit the Ettrick Shepherd, at that time famed as a poet, but whose early chances of such distinction had scarcely equalled his own; and forth accordingly he set off in this his first pilgrimage of hero-worship, accompanied by an elder brother. The meeting Hogg has fully described in his "Reminiscences of Former Days;" and he particularizes Allan as "a dark ungainly youth of about eighteen, with a boardly frame for his age, and strongly marked manly features—the very model of Burns, and exactly such a man." The stripling poet, who stood at a bashful distance, was introduced to the Shepherd by his brother, who added, "You will be so kind as excuse this intrusion of ours on your solitude, for, in truth, I could get no peace either night or day with Allan till I consented to come and see you." "I then stepped down the hill," continues Hogg, "to

where Allan Cunningham still stood, with his weather-beaten cheek toward me, and seizing his hard brawny hand, I gave it a hearty shake, saying something as kind as I was able, and, at the same time, I am sure, as stupid as it possibly could be. From that moment we were friends; for Allan has none of the proverbial Scottish caution about him; he is all heart together, without reserve either of expression or manner: you at once see the unaffected benevolence, warmth of feeling, and firm independence of a man conscious of his own rectitude and mental energies. Young as he was, I had heard of his name, although slightly, and I think seen two or three of his juvenile pieces." . . .

"I had a small bothy upon the hill, in which I took my breakfast and dinner on wet days, and rested myself. It was so small that we had to walk in on all-fours; and when we were in we could not get up our heads any way but in a sitting posture. It was exactly my own length, and, on the one side, I had a bed of rushes, which served likewise as a seat; on this we all three sat down, and there we spent the whole afternoon; and, I am sure, a happier group of three never met on the hill of Queensberry. Allan brightened up prodigiously after he got into the dark bothy, repeating all his early pieces of poetry, and part of his brother's to me." . . . "From that day forward I failed not to improve my acquaintance with the Cunninghams. I visited them several times at Dalawinton, and never missed an opportunity of meeting with Allan, when it was in my power to do so. I was astonished at the luxuriousness of his fancy. It was boundless; but it was the luxury of a rich garden overrun with rampant weeds. He was likewise then a great mannerist in expression, and no man could mistake his verses for those of any other man. I remember seeing some imitations of Ossian by him, which I thought exceedingly good; and it struck me that that style of composition was peculiarly fitted for his vast and fervent imagination."

Such is the interesting sketch which Hogg has given us of the early life and character of a brother poet and congenial spirit. The full season at length arrived when Allan Cunningham was to burst from his obscurity as a mere rural bard, and emerge into a more public sphere. Cromek, to the full as enthusiastic an admirer of Scottish poetry as himself, was collecting his well-known relics; and in the course of his quest, young Cunningham was pointed out as one who could efficiently aid him in the work. Allan gladly assented to the task of gathering and preserving these old national treasures, and in due time presented to the zealous antiquary a choice collection of apparently old songs and ballads, which were inserted in the "Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song," published in 1810. But the best of these, and especially the "Mermaid of Galloway," were the production of Cunningham's own pen. This Hogg at once discovered as soon as the collection appeared, and he did not scruple in proclaiming to all his literary friends that "Allan Cunningham was the author of all that was beautiful in the work." He communicated his convictions also to Sir Walter Scott, who was of the same opinion, and expressed his fervent wish that such a valuable and original young man were fairly out of Cromek's hands. Resolved that the world should know to whom it was really indebted for so much fine poetry, Hogg next wrote a critique upon Cromek's publication, which he sent to the "Edinburgh Review;" but although Jeffrey was aware of the *ruse* which Cunningham had practised, he did not think it worthy of exposure. In this strange literary escapade, the poet scarcely appears to merit the title of "honest Allan," which Sir Walter Scott subsequently bestowed upon him, and rather to deserve the

doubtful place held by such writers as Chatterton, Ireland, and Macpherson. It must, however, be observed in extenuation, that Cunningham, by passing off his own productions as remains of ancient Scottish song, compromised no venerated names, as the others had done. He gave them only as anonymous verses, to which neither date nor author could be assigned.

In the same year that Cromek's "Remains" were published (1810), Allan Cunningham abandoned his humble and unhealthy occupation, and repaired to the great arena of his aspiring young countrymen. London was thenceforth to be his home. He had reached the age of twenty-five, was devoted heart and soul to intellectual labour, and felt within himself the capacity of achieving something higher than squaring stones and erecting country cottages. On settling in London, he addressed himself to the duties of a literary adventurer with energy and success, so that his pen was seldom idle; and among the journals to which he was a contributor, may be mentioned the "Literary Gazette," the "London Magazine," and the "Athenæum." Even this, at the best, was precarious, and will often desert the most devoted industry; but Cunningham, fortunately, had learned a craft upon which he was not too proud to fall back should higher resources forsake him. Chantrey, the eminent statuary, was in want of a foreman, who combined artistic imagination and taste with mechanical skill and experience; and what man could be better fitted for the office than the mason, poet, and journalist, who had now established for himself a considerable literary reputation among the most distinguished writers in London? A union was formed between the pair that continued till death; and the appearance of these inseparables, as they continued from year to year to grow in celebrity, the one as an author, and the other as an author, seldom failed to arrest the attention of the good folks of Pimlico, as they took their daily walk from the studio in Ecclestone Street to the foundry in the Mews. Although the distance was considerable, as well as a public thoroughfare, they usually walked bareheaded; while the short figure, small round face, and bald head of the artist were strikingly contrasted with the tall stalwart form, dark bright eyes, and large sentimental countenance of the poet. The duties of Cunningham, in the capacity of "friend and assistant," as Chantrey was wont to term him, were sufficiently multifarious; and of these, the superintendence of the artist's extensive workshop was not the least. The latter, although so distinguished as a statuary, had obtuse feelings and a limited imagination, while those of Cunningham were of the highest order: the artist's reading had been very limited, but that of the poet was extensive and in every department. Cunningham was, therefore, as able in suggesting graceful attitudes in figures, picturesque folds in draperies, and new proportions for pedestals, as Chantrey was in executing them, and in this way the former was a very Mentor and muse to the latter. Besides all this, Cunningham recommended his employer's productions through the medium of the press, illustrated their excellencies, and defended them against maligners; fought his battles against rival committees, and established his claims when they would have been sacrificed in favour of some inferior artist. Among the other methods by which Chantrey's artistic reputation was thus established and diffused abroad, may be mentioned a sketch of his life and an account of his works, published in "Blackwood's Magazine" for April, 1820, and a critique in the "Quarterly" for 1820; both of these articles being from the pen of Allan Cunningham. The poet was also the life of the artist's studio, by his rich enlivening conversation, and his power of illustrating the

various busts and statues which the building contained, so that it was sometimes difficult to tell whether the living man or the high delineations of art possessed most attraction for many among its thousands of visitors. In this way also the highest in rank and the most distinguished in talent were brought into daily intercourse with him, from among whom he could select the characters he most preferred for friendship and acquaintance.

Among the illustrious personages with whom his connection with Chantrey brought him into contact, the most gratifying of all to the mind of Cunningham must have been the acquaintance to which it introduced him with Sir Walter Scott. We have already seen how devout a hero-worshipper he was, by the visit he paid to the Ettrick Shepherd. Under the same inspiration, while still working as a stone-mason in Nithsdale, he once walked to Edinburgh, for the privilege of catching a glimpse of the author of "Marmion" as he passed along the public street. In 1820, when Cunningham had himself become a distinguished poet and miscellaneous writer, he came in personal contact with the great object of his veneration, in consequence of being the bearer of a request from Chantrey, that he would allow a bust to be taken of him. The meeting was highly characteristic of both parties. Sir Walter met his visitor with both hands extended, for the purpose of a cordial double shake, and gave a hearty "Allan Cunningham, I am glad to see you." The other stammered out something about the pleasure he felt in touching the hand that had charmed him so much. "Ay," said Scott moving the member, with one of his pawky smiles, "and a big brown hand it is." He then complimented the bard of Nithsdale upon his ballads, and entreated him to try something of still higher consequence "for dear auld Scotland's sake," quoting these words of Burns. The result of Cunningham's immediate mission was the celebrated bust of Sir Walter Scott by Chantrey; a bust which not only gives the external semblance, but expresses the very character and soul of the mighty magician, and that will continue through late generations to present his likeness as distinctly as if he still moved among them.

The acquaintanceship thus auspiciously commenced, was not allowed to lie idle; and while it materially benefited the family of Cunningham, it also served at once to elicit and gratify the warm-hearted benevolence of Sir Walter. The event is best given in the words of Lockhart, Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law and biographer. "Breakfasting one morning (this was in the summer of 1828) with Allan Cunningham, and commending one of his publications, he looked round the table, and said, 'What are you going to make of all these boys, Allan?' 'I ask that question often at my own heart,' said Allan, 'and I cannot answer it.' 'What does the eldest point to?' 'The callant would fain be a soldier, Sir Walter—and I have half a promise of a commission in the King's army for him; but I wish rather he would go to India, for there the pay is a maintenance, and one does not need interest at every step to get on.' Scott dropped the subject, but went an hour afterwards to Lord Melville (who was now president of the Board of Control), and begged a cadetship for young Cunningham. Lord Melville promised to inquire if he had one at his disposal, in which case he would gladly serve the son of honest Allan; but the point being thus left doubtful, Scott, meeting Mr. John Loch, one of the East India directors, at dinner the same evening, at Lord Stafford's, applied to him, and received an immediate assent. On reaching home at night, he found a note from Lord Melville, intimating that he had inquired, and was happy in complying with

his request. Next morning Sir Walter appeared at Sir F. Chantrey's breakfast-table, and greeted the sculptor (who is a brother of the angle) with 'I suppose it has sometimes happened to you to catch one trout (which was all you thought of) with the fly, and another with the bobber. I have done so, and I think I shall land them both. Don't you think Cunningham would like very well to have cadetships for two of those fine lads?' 'To be sure he would,' said Chantrey, 'and if you'll secure the commissions, I'll make the outfit easy.' Great was the joy in Allan's household on this double good news; but I should add, that before the thing was done he had to thank another benefactor. Lord Melville; after all, went out of the Board of Control before he had been able to fulfil his promise; but his successor, Lord Ellenborough, on hearing the circumstances of the case, desired Cunningham to set his mind at rest; and both his young men are now prospering in the India service."

By being thus established in Chantrey's employ, and having a salary sufficient for his wants, Allan Cunningham was released from the necessity of an entire dependence on authorship, as well as from the extreme precariousness with which it is generally accompanied, especially in London. He did not, however, on that account relapse into the free and easy life of a mere dilettanti writer. On the contrary, these advantages seem only to have stimulated him to further exertion, so that, to the very end of his days, he was not only a diligent, laborious student, but a continually improving author. Mention has already been made of the wild exuberance that characterized his earliest efforts in poetry. Hogg, whose sentiments on this head we have already seen, with equal justice characterizes its after progress. "Mr. Cunningham's style of poetry is greatly changed of late for the better. I have never seen any style improved so much. It is free of all that crudeness and mannerism that once marked it so decidedly. He is now uniformly lively, serious, descriptive, or pathetic, as he changes his subject; but formerly he jumbled all these together, as in a boiling caldron, and when once he began, it was impossible to calculate where or when he was going to end." Scott, who will be reckoned a higher authority, is still louder in praise of Cunningham, and declared that some of his songs, especially that of "It's hame, and it's hame," were equal to Burns. But although his fame commenced with his poetry, and will ultimately rest mainly upon it, he was a still more voluminous prose writer, and in a variety of departments, as the following list of his chief works will sufficiently show:—

"Sir Marmaduke Maxwell," a drama. This production Cunningham designed for the stage, and sent it in M.S., in 1820, to Sir Walter Scott for his perusal and approbation. But the judgment formed of it was, that it was a beautiful dramatic poem rather than a play, and therefore better fitted for the closet than the stage. In this opinion every reader of "Sir Marmaduke Maxwell" will coincide, more especially when he takes into account the complexity of the plot, and the capricious manner in which the interest is shifted.

"Paul Jones," a novel; "Sir Michael Scott," a novel. Although Cunningham had repressed the wildness of his imagination in poetry, it still worked madly within him, and evidently required a safety-valve after being denied its legitimate outlet. No one can be doubtful of the fact who peruses these novels; for not only do they drive truth into utter fiction, but fiction itself into the all but unimaginable. This is especially the case with the last of these works, in which the extravagant dreams of the Pythagorean or the Bramin are utterly out heroded. Hence, notwithstanding the beautiful ideas and profusion

of stirring events with which they are stored—enough, indeed, to have furnished a whole stock of novels and romances—they never became favourites with the public, and have now ceased to be remembered.

"Songs of Scotland, ancient and modern, with Introduction and Notes, Historical and Critical, and Characters of the Lyric Poets." Four Vols. 8vo. 1825. Some of the best poems in this collection are by Cunningham himself; not introduced surreptitiously, however, as in the case of Cromek, but as his own productions; and of these, "De Bruce" contains such a stirring account of the battle of Bannockburn as Scott's "Lord of the Isles" has not surpassed.

"Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects," published in Murray's "Family Library." Six Vols. 12mo. 1829-33. This work, although defective in philosophical and critical analysis, and chargeable, in many instances, with partiality, continues to be highly popular, in consequence of the poetical spirit with which it is pervaded, and the vivacious, attractive style in which it is written. This was what the author probably aimed at, instead of producing a work that might serve as a standard for artists and connoisseurs; and in this he has fully succeeded.

"Literary Illustrations to Major's 'Cabinet Gallery of Pictures.'" 1833, 1834.

"The Maid of Elvar," a poem.

"Lord Roldan," a romance.

"Life of Burns."

"Life of Sir David Wilkie." Three Vols. 8vo. 1843. Cunningham, who knew the painter well, and loved him dearly as a congenial Scottish spirit, found in this production the last of his literary efforts, as he finished its final corrections only two days before he died. At the same time, he had made considerable progress in an extended edition of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," and a "Life of Chantrey" was also expected from his pen; but before these could be accomplished both poet and sculptor, after a close union of twenty-nine years, had ended their labours, and bequeathed their memorial to other hands. The last days of Chantrey were spent in drawing the tomb in which he wished to be buried in the church-yard of Norton, in Derbyshire, the place of his nativity; and while showing the plans to his assistant, he observed, with a look of anxiety, "But there will be no room for you." "Room for me!" cried Allan Cunningham, "I would not lie like a toad in a stone, or in a place strong enough for another to covet. O, no! let me lie where the green grass and the daisies grow, waving under the winds of the blue heaven." The wish of both was satisfied; for Chantrey reposes under his mausoleum of granite, and Cunningham in the picturesque cemetery of Harrow. The artist by his will left the poet a legacy of £2000, but the constitution of the latter was so prematurely exhausted that he lived only a year after his employer. His death, which was occasioned by paralysis, occurred at Lower Belgrave Place, Pimlico, on the 29th October, 1842, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

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DALE, DAVID.—This eminent philanthropist was born in Stewarton, Ayrshire, on the 6th of January, 1739. His ancestors are said to have been farmers

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in that district for several hundred years; but his father, Mr. William Dale,* was a grocer and general dealer in the town. David received the education which was usually given at that period in the small towns of Scotland. His first employment was the herding of cattle. He was afterwards apprenticed in Paisley to the weaving business, at this time the most lucrative trade in the country; but it appears that he disliked the sedentary occupation, and on one occasion left his employment abruptly. He afterwards, however, wrought at the weaving trade in Hamilton and the neighbourhood of Cambuslang. He subsequently removed to Glasgow, and became clerk to a silk-mercant. With the assistance of friends he commenced business on his own account in the linen yarn trade, which he carried on for many years, importing large quantities of French yarns from Flanders, which brought him large profits, and laid the foundation of his fortune.† Mr. Dale had been about twenty years in business in Glasgow, when Sir Richard Arkwright's patent inventions for the improvement of cotton-spinning were introduced into England. Sir Richard visited Glasgow in 1783, and was entertained by the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, at a public dinner, and next day started with Mr. Dale for the purpose of inspecting the waterfalls on the Clyde, with a view to erect works adapted to his improvements. A site was fixed on, and the buildings of the New Lanark cotton-mills were immediately commenced. Arrangements were at the same time made betwixt Sir Richard and Mr. Dale for the use of the patent of the former. Mechanics were sent to England to be instructed in the nature of the machinery and the process of the manufactures; but, in the meanwhile, Arkwright's patent having been challenged, and the courts of law having decided against its validity, Mr. Dale was thus relieved of all claim for patent right, and the connection betwixt him and Arkwright was consequently dissolved, the business being now entirely his own. Considerable opposition to the erection of these works was offered by the landed proprietors in the neighbourhood, from an unfounded apprehension that the privacy of their demesnes would be invaded by the introduction of a multitude of work-people into that rural district; and, more especially, that fresh burdens would be entailed upon them for the support of the poor. Their forebodings, however, were not realized when the mills were put in operation. The works gave employment to great numbers of peaceable and industrious operatives, who, instead of burdening the land, contributed to enhance its value by consuming its produce. Finding, likewise, that the mills were yielding large returns to the proprietor, many landlords soon evinced a desire to have similar establishments on their own estates. The capabilities of the steam-engine for impelling cotton machinery were not yet known; spinning-mills, therefore, could only be erected profitably where there were powerful waterfalls. Many of the landed proprietors in Scotland availed themselves of Mr. Dale's practical knowledge and advice as to establishing

* Mr. William Dale was twice married; by his first marriage he had two sons, David and Hugh; and by his second, one son, the late James Dale, Esq., whose son is now an eminent merchant in Glasgow.

† Mr. Dale's shop was then in the High Street, five doors north of the corner at the Cross. He paid £5 of rent, but thinking this an extravagant rent, he sub-let the one-half of it to a watchmaker for fifty shillings. But in 1783, when he was appointed agent for the Royal Bank of Scotland, the watchmaker's part was turned into the bank office, where the business of that establishment was conducted till about 1790, when it was removed to large premises, south-east corner of St. Andrew's Square.

mills on properties where such facilities existed. He was instrumental in this way in the erection, amongst others, of the extensive mills at Catrine, on the banks of the river Ayr, and at Spinningdale, on the Firth of Dornoch, in Sutherlandshire. In several of the new works he had a pecuniary interest as co-partner. Besides the spinning of cotton-yarn at New Lanark, Mr. Dale was largely concerned in the manufacture of cotton-cloth in Glasgow.* In connection with Mr. George M'Intosh, and Monsieur Papillon, a Frenchman, he established, in 1783, the first works in Scotland for the dyeing of cotton turkey-red. He was a partner in an inkle-factory; also in the Blantyre cotton-mills, and at a later period of his life held a large share in the Stanley cotton-mills.

He continued, meanwhile, his original business of importing Flanders yarn; and, in addition to all these sources of income, when the Royal Bank of Scotland established a branch of its business in Glasgow in 1783, he was appointed its sole agent, an office which he held till within a few years of his death, when, upon its business becoming much extended, an additional agent was named to act jointly with him. The individual who, some thirty or forty years before was a little herd-boy at Stewarton, was now sole proprietor of, or connected as a managing partner with, several of the most extensive mercantile, manufacturing, and banking concerns of the country, the proper conducting of any one of which would have absorbed the entire powers of most other men. Not so, however, with the subject of our memoir; for we find him successfully conducting, with strict commercial integrity, all the important enterprises in which he was embarked, together with others not included in this enumeration; besides devoting time and money to various benevolent schemes, and discharging the onerous duties of a magistrate of the city of Glasgow, to which he was elected, first in 1791, and again in 1794: moreover, every Lord's-day, and sometimes on other days, preaching the gospel to a Congregational church, of which he was one of the elders.† Mr. Dale was eminently qualified to sustain the numerous and varied offices which he had thus undertaken; every duty being attended to in its own place and at the proper time, he was never overburdened with work, nor did he ever appear to be in a hurry.

The first erected, and at that time the only mill at New Lanark, was accidentally burned to the ground a few weeks after it had begun to produce spun yarn, for which there was a great demand. When intelligence of this event reached Glasgow, many thought that a stop would be put to all further operations in that quarter. Mr. Dale heard the intelligence with calmness, formed his resolutions, proceeded to the ground to inspect the ruins, and instantly issued orders to re-erect the premises which had been consumed. The new mill was speedily reconstructed, and the manufacture proceeded with fresh energy.

Although comfortable dwellings were erected at the village of New Lanark for the workers, and good wages and constant employment insured, great difficulty was felt in getting the spinning-mill filled with operatives. There was,

* Under the firm of Dale, Campbell, Reid, and Dale, viz., Mr. Dale himself, Mr. Campbell, his brother-in-law, Mr. Andrew Reid, and Mr. David Dale, jun., his nephew.

† The Congregational church here referred to, and the other churches in Scotland and England in connection with it, give the Scripture name of "elder" to that office which most other denominations designate by the title of "minister" or "pastor." In every such church, where circumstances are favourable, there is a plurality of elders, most of whom continue to follow the occupations in which they were engaged previously to being called to office.

indeed, no want of unemployed work-people; for the change of commercial relations caused by the first American war, then raging, very much limited the labour demand, and many, especially from the Highland districts, were in consequence emigrating. It arose from prejudice on the part of the people, more particularly in the Lowlands, against all factory labour. Parents would neither work themselves nor allow their children to enter the mills. In this dilemma Mr. Dale offered employment to a number of Highland families who were emigrating from the Hebrides to America, but had been driven by stress of weather into Greenock, and most of them availed themselves of the opening for securing a comfortable livelihood in their native land. The Celts, appearing to have less repugnance to factory labour than their countrymen in the south, agents were sent to the Highlands, who engaged many other families to become workers at New Lanark; but as the mills were at last increased to four, there was still a deficient supply of labour, especially in the department best served by youths, and recourse was had to the poor-houses of Glasgow and Edinburgh, from which orphan and other pauper children were obtained, and whose moral and religious education was combined with their industrial training. From these sources were the workers in the mill and the villagers of New Lanark chiefly drawn, forming a population which, at all periods of its history, has commended itself for decent and orderly behaviour.

After Mr. Dale had been in business several years, but before he had engaged in any of the large concerns now described, he, in September 1777, married Miss Ann Caroline Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh. It is not known whether this lady brought him any fortune, but there is reason to suppose that her father's connection with the Royal Bank of Scotland as a director, led to Mr. Dale's appointment as agent of that establishment in Glasgow, and thus increased his commercial credit and command of capital. Miss Campbell, who had been brought up in the same religious connection with her husband, was also of one heart and mind with him in all his schemes of benevolence. She was the mother of seven children, whom she trained up in the fear of the Lord. Mrs. Dale died in January, 1791. Mr. Dale did not again marry.

It was, of course, not to be expected that all the undertakings in which Mr. Dale was embarked should prove equally successful. One at least was a total failure. It was generally understood that he lost about £20,000 in sinking a coal-pit in the lands of Barrowfield, the coal never having been reached, owing to the soil being a running quick-sand, which could not be overcome, although the shaft was laid with iron cylinders. Messrs. Robert Tennant and David Tod were his copartners in this unfortunate project; but they together held a comparatively small share. Mr. Dale was, however, eminently successful on the whole, and had acquired a large fortune. In 1799, being then in his sixty-first year, and nearly his fortieth in business, he resolved on freeing himself of at least a portion of his commercial responsibilities. The mills at Lanark had been uniformly prosperous, yielding returns larger perhaps than any other of his concerns; yet, possibly from his being sole proprietor, and in circumstances to relinquish them without delay, he at once disposed of these extensive and valuable works. Mr. Robert Owen, then a young man, residing in Lancashire, was in Glasgow on a visit, and being previously known to Mr. Dale as having, by his talent and persevering industry, raised himself from humble circumstances to be manager of an extensive spinning-mill at Chorlton, he consulted with him as to the propriety of selling the works. The information thus

obtained by Mr. Owen convinced him of the profitable nature of the trade, and led him to form a company of English capitalists, who purchased the property at £66,000, and carried on the business for several years, under the firm of the Chorlton Spinning Company, of which Mr. Owen was appointed manager. This situation he held from 1799 to 1827, but not all the time in the same partnership. During the twenty-eight years the mills were under Mr. Owen's management, they cleared of nett profit about £360,000, after having laid aside a sum nearly equal to 5 per cent. on the paid-up capital. Mr. Owen, sometime after his settlement at New Lanark, married Mr. Dale's eldest daughter, with whom he received a large portion.

The above-named company continued to work with profit the Lanark mills from 1799 to 1813, when the property again changed ownership. During the copartnery, most of the English partners sold their interest to Glasgow merchants, who consequently held the largest share at the close of the contract. It appears that by this time (1814) the partners and the manager had each resolved to get rid of the other; and both parties were bent on retaining, if possible, possession of the mills. Mr. Owen had now begun to promulgate some of his peculiar theories; and, for the purpose of carrying them into practice, had constructed the spacious and substantial building at New Lanark, still existing, without, it is said, receiving the formal consent of the partners, some of whom disapproved of his schemes. It was resolved to dispose of the property by public roup; and Mr. Owen, meanwhile, succeeded in forming a new company, which, when the day of sale arrived, became the purchasers, after considerable competition, at the cost of £112,000. When security was required for this large sum, the names of William Allen, Joseph Fox, Robert Owen, Jeremy Bentham, John Walker, and Michael Gibbs, Esquires, were handed in as the partners of the New Lanark Cotton-Mill Company.

The education of the common people was at this period occupying much attention. Joseph Lancaster had introduced his method of instructing large numbers at little expense. His Quaker brethren warmly espoused the cause, which speedily excited universal interest, from the highest to the humblest. Mr. Owen entered heartily into the movement, which he advocated on the platform in Glasgow, and towards which he contributed a thousand pounds to the Glasgow subscription alone out of his private funds. His zeal in the cause no doubt recommended him to the benevolent individuals who became his partners; and it is also to be observed, that he had not yet avowed the infidel principles which were destined to give him such unenviable notoriety in future years. The new copartnery laid down, as the basis of its union, an article rarely to be found in commercial contracts, namely, "That all profits made in the concern beyond five per cent. per annum on the capital invested, shall be laid aside for the religious, educational, and moral improvement of the workers, and of the community at large." And, as appears from the "Memoir of William Allen," provision was made "for the religious education of all the children of the labourers employed in the works, and that nothing should be introduced tending to disparage the Christian religion, or undervalue the authority of the Holy Scriptures; that no books should be introduced into the library until they had first been approved of at a general meeting of the partners; that schools should be established on the best models of the British, or other approved systems, to which the partners might agree; but no religious instruction, or lessons on religion, should be used except the Scriptures, according to the

authorized version, or extracts therefrom, without note or comment; and that the children should not be employed in the mills belonging to the partnership until they were of such an age as not to be prejudicial to their health." The pious and benevolent founder of the establishment had, in like manner, provided schools and schoolmasters for the education of the workers and their children, and had maintained these throughout the successive changes in the copartnery.

Mr. Owen, being thus vested with great powers and ample means for the most enlarged benevolence, started, under the auspices of the newly-formed company, on an extensive educational plan, embracing, in addition to the ordinary school instruction, the higher branches of science. He gave lessons in military tactics, and caused the workmen to march in order to and from school and workshop in rank and file to the sound of drum and fife—a sort of training rather alien to the anti-warlike predilections of his Quaker copartners. He attempted also to introduce Socialist principles, and became himself a prominent leader of that party, which had hitherto been scarcely heard of in the country. He contributed largely in money for the purchase of an estate in the neighbouring parish of Motherwell, and to erect on it a huge building, distinguished by the name of New Harmony. In this institution, which soon went to pieces, society was to be reconstituted on Socialist principles, with a community of goods. The partners of Owen were grieved at his folly, and the public shared in their disappointment and regret. William Allen, the Quaker, a man of science and a philanthropist, and who was induced to enter into the copartnery solely in the hope of doing good to the factory population by his influence, and to the millowners by his example, writes, in 1817—"Robert Owen is in town, and I am much distressed about him. He has blazoned abroad his infidel principles in all the public newspapers, and he wishes to identify me with his plans, which I have resisted in the most positive manner. I am resolved not to remain in the concern of New Lanark, unless it be most narrowly and constantly watched by some one on whom we can thoroughly rely." Mr. Allen had been in correspondence with Lord Sidmouth, Secretary of State for the Home Department, about the education of the people on the basis of Christianity, and had referred, in that correspondence, to what he and his partners had resolved on doing at New Lanark. The newly-avowed views of Robert Owen having, as he feared, deranged all their plans, he, in these altered circumstances, considered it necessary to apprise the Home Secretary that Owen's opinions were not those of his partners; that "they not only disavowed, but held them in abhorrence." Three of the partners, namely, W. Allen, Joseph Fox, and Michael Gibbs, visited the works in April, 1818, their "principal object being to discover whether any attempt is making there to weaken the faith of the people in Divine revelation." They made inquiry at the general superintendent of the works, who was reported to them as a steady, religious man; they inquired, also, as opportunity offered, amongst the people, at the parish minister, and at the Dissenting minister in Old Lanark, from one and all of whom they learned that Owen's infidel sentiments had hitherto made but little progress, and that the morals of the villagers were good. An address from the villagers was presented to the deputation, at a public meeting called for the purpose. In this address the people expressed their gratitude "for the gratuitous education of the children, and the humane treatment which the workers themselves experienced," but no mention is made in it of any "religious instruction, or lessons on religion, from Scripture," having been given. William Allen

acknowledged this address in a lengthened speech, in which he says, "Although Joseph Foster and himself are members of the Society of Friends, and Michael Gibbs is a member of the Established Church of England, that while neither were desirous of proselytizing to this or that form of religion, they all were most desirous for the spiritual and temporal good of all the workers, and specially that their children be brought up in the fear of God." He, in name of all the London proprietors, avowed their firm belief in Divine revelation, appealing to the moral change which faith in Christ had produced in all ages, and pressing the blessings of religion upon the acceptance of all who heard him. The visit of this deputation was made avowedly to counteract the baneful effects of Owen's principles. He was informed of the object of the visit, was present at all the meetings, heard all that was said in opposition to the pernicious doctrines he was covertly promulgating at New Lanark—but maintained a cautious silence. He, nevertheless, pursued his own course, and the consequence was the retirement from the company of those members who had joined it from philanthropic motives, and the abandonment of their admirably-conceived plan of raising up an intelligent, right-principled, and well-conditioned factory population at New Lanark. Mr. Owen continued in connection with the mills till 1827; but during the greater part of his latter years he was occupied in propagating his visionary schemes of infidelity in England and America, in which he spent a princely fortune, derived from the profits of the business. Mr. Owen of late years has resided chiefly in London, and his children in the United States of America. Mrs. Owen did not adopt the infidel principles of her husband; on the contrary, soon after she had ascertained the nature of his sentiments, she openly avowed her faith in the Lord Jesus, connected herself with the church of which her father had been an elder, and adorned her Christian profession till her death in 1832.

But to return to the subject of our memoir. Mr. Dale, in 1782, built for his family residence the spacious mansion at the south-west corner of Charlotte Street, Glasgow, at a cost of £6000, which greatly exceeded his calculations. This tenement, after repeatedly changing owners of late years, and having been occupied as a Roman Catholic nunnery, is now the property of the incorporation of the Eye Infirmary, and is devoted to the purposes of that institution. As a retreat from the bustle of a city life, about the year 1800, when his advancing years required repose, he purchased Rosebank, a small landed property and dwelling-house on the banks of Clyde, about four miles east of Glasgow. He was in his sixty-first year when his connection with the Lanark mills ceased. Having acquired a handsome competency, he resolved on winding up his other business affairs; but the nature of his contracts and copartneries rendered it impossible to free his estate from responsibility till some years after his death. But whilst gradually withdrawing from other business engagements, he most unaccountably, through the influence of Mr. Owen, became a partner in the Stanley Cotton Mill Company, a connection which caused him much uneasiness during the latter years of his life, and is said to have involved him in a loss of £60,000. Hitherto his career as a merchant only has been described. It remains to delineate those features of his character upon which his reputation as a Christian philanthropist chiefly rests. Mr. Dale in early life appears to have been of a pious turn of mind, and a regular attendant at church. He sought the company of religious people, and became a member of a fellowship prayer-meeting at Paisley during his apprenticeship. He attached himself to the evange-

lical party in the Established Church. The fellowship-meetings were held in the evenings, and generally in a private house, the exercises consisting of praise, prayer, reading the Word, and Christian conversation. We have no account under what minister of the Church of Scotland Mr. Dale placed himself while at Paisley, Cambuslang, and Hamilton; but we may readily suppose that his residence in the two last-named places, if not selected for that purpose, would at least give him an opportunity of attending on the many evangelical ministers who flocked to that quarter for many years after the revivals of religion which had occurred at Cambuslang shortly before. It was about 1763 when Mr. Dale took up his residence in Glasgow, being then in his twenty-fourth year. He attached himself at one time to the College Church congregation, under the ministry of Dr. Gillies, son-in-law to the well-known Maclaurin, author of the inimitable sermons on "Glorying in the Cross of Christ."

The causes which led Mr. Dale and a few others to secede from the national Church, and unite, as a separate community, under the Congregational order, will now be traced from an old manuscript, and from a pamphlet printed in 1814, entitled, "A Short Account of the Rise and Establishment of the Churches commonly called the Old Scotch Independents." This secession, like every other which has happened during the last 120 years, arose out of the question of church patronage. In general, the contending parties have been the members of the church against the crown or an individual lay-patron; but in this instance the contention lay betwixt the general session of Glasgow and the magistrates and town council of the city. The general session, composed of the ministers and elders of the eight parishes into which the city was then divided, had, prior to 1764-66, held and exercised the right of patronage to all the town churches as vacancies occurred. At this date, however, the right of the general session was challenged by the magistrates and council, and decided by the civil courts in favour of the latter, who have consequently been patrons of all the city churches ever since. The authorities being then, as for many years after, of the moderate party, filled up the first vacancy which occurred—that of the Wynd church—with a minister most obnoxious to the orthodox party. The appointment gave great offence, not only to the parishioners, but to the citizens generally, who valued their religious privileges. Great dissatisfaction was evinced by the orthodox party in the Wynd congregation, which resulted in their erecting a new place of worship in North Albion Street, which was first called "The Chapel of the Scotch Presbyterian Society," but afterwards "The Chapel of Ease." To the erection of this building Mr. Dale was an original subscriber, and voted for Mr. Cruden, the minister who first occupied its pulpit. The building continued to be used as a place of worship in connection with the Church of Scotland, the minister being chosen by the people, till about 1860, when it was sold, and is now occupied as a leather warehouse. In the year 1768, Mr. John Barclay (afterwards known as the leader of a sect which took the name of Bereans), a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, and assistant minister of the parish of Fettercairn, being impressed with the evils of patronage, and lamenting the unscriptural doctrines then taught in many of the pulpits of the parish churches, heard with sympathy of the movement in Glasgow, and visited that city for the purpose of being introduced to Mr. Dale, with whom he had many interviews. His visits were repeated, when Mr. Archibald Paterson, Mr. Matthew Alexander, and others who afterwards became associated with Mr. Dale in the Congregational Church, were present. They were satisfied with the doctrines taught by Mr.

Barclay, and were astonished at the boldness with which he denounced all human writings on divine things, and his advocacy of the Word of God as the alone standard of faith. His preaching had the effect of leading these individuals to a more thorough searching of Scripture for light and guidance, which ended in their gradually embracing Congregational principles in church government, and their abandoning the Church of Scotland and the Relief Presbytery. Mr. Dale and others like-minded, to the number of seven, having mutually professed their faith to each other, assembled for some time on the Lord's-day in a private house for prayer, praise, reading the Word, and mutual exhortation. Their number very soon increased to twenty-five, and many others expressed a desire to attend as hearers; but the place of meeting not being capable of accommodating them all, Mr. Archibald Paterson, one of the original seven, erected, out of his own means, a meeting-house in Greyfriars' Wynd, seated for about 500 persons. In this place the church assembled till 1836, when, on its getting out of repair, a larger and more commodious building was erected in Oswald Street, where the church continues its meetings.

About the time that Mr. Dale and his friends seceded, Mr. Smith, minister of the parish of Newburn, and Mr. Ferrier, minister of the adjoining parish of Largo, in Fifeshire, also left the Established Church on Congregational principles. There was no concert betwixt the two parties; the movement in Fifeshire seems to have been made known to the party in Glasgow only by the publications of the parties in Fife, giving their reasons of dissent after the secession had taken place; but the statements and doctrines in these publications being in accordance with the views of the Glasgow seceders, led to the opening of a correspondence between them, which resulted in their union. The brethren in Fife had a meeting-house erected at Balchristie. In a short time a congregation was formed, which soon became very numerous, and Mr. Smith and Mr. Ferrier were called to preside over it as elders. The church at Balchristie was prevailed upon to part with Mr. Ferrier, that he might become one of the elders in the church at Glasgow, which also unanimously elected Mr. Dale to be conjoined in office with Mr. Ferrier. He accepted the office with great reluctance, the very thought of its responsibilities having for some time affected his health. In 1769, Mr. Dale entered on the duties of a Christian pastor, which he continued to discharge till his death, thirty-seven years afterwards.

Mr. Dale and his friends discarded, as unscriptural, church government by sessions, presbyteries, and synods, maintaining that all who possessed the qualifications for the ministry, as laid down in the apostolic writings, and who were called by their brethren to the exercise of these gifts, were not only at liberty, but were bound to exercise them for the good of their fellow-creatures, although they had never entered the portals of a college or of a divinity hall. The new views, especially when acted upon by the appointment of Mr. Dale to the ministry, raised a shout of derision; he was hooted and jostled in the streets, and many times forced to take shelter under some friendly roof. The same practices were followed when he and his colleague, Mr. Ferrier, were seen together on the streets; but the latter having been a clergyman in the Established Church, more personal respect was shown to him than to Mr. Dale. Even the meeting-house in which they assembled did not escape the popular dislike; stones and other missiles were hurled against it, till the windows, roof, and other parts of the building were much injured. Nor were these practices discontinued till an action at law for damage was threatened. The ill disposed being thus deterred

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from doing injury to persons or property, next proceeded to pack the meeting-house with a rabble, that a "row" might be created, especially in the dark evenings of the Lord's-days. On one occasion their annoyance took a somewhat humorous turn. Mr. Smith, one of the pastors of the church at Balchristie, about this time came on a visit to his friends, Messrs. Dale and Ferrier. It became known that these three individuals would officiate respectively at one or other of the three services on the following Lord's-day. In the interim, a punning placard, in imitation of a country blacksmith's sign-board, was posted on the large entrance door, having the following inscription: "*Preaching here, by David Dale, Smith and Ferrier.*" It may be readily supposed that such a ludicrous advertisement would not fail to bring together a rabble for mischief or merriment. Mr. Dale and his friends outlived all this, and it may be here noticed, as an evidence of the fugitive nature of popular censure as well as of popular applause, that he who, in 1769-70, was mobbed in the streets for daring to preach without a presbyterial license, was, little more than twenty years thereafter, conducted to and from the same place of worship by the officers of the city corporation, with all the paraphernalia and pomp of a magisterial procession. In 1791, when Mr. Dale was elected a city magistrate, his brethren on the bench were all staunch churchmen. It was then, and for long afterwards, the practice of the magistrates and other civic functionaries to walk in procession to the parish church, escorted by city officers in uniform, with halberts, and other tokens of authority. Mr. Dale could not, of course, accompany the procession to the parish church, but rather than allow a magistrate to go unescorted to any place of worship, it was arranged that a portion of the city officers should, in livery and with halberts, attend him to and from his own place of worship, and wait on him while there. This it appears he submitted to, though rather inconsistent like with his religious principles.

The church over which Mr. Dale presided, though relieved of hostility from without, was, at no very distant period, tried by the withdrawal from its communion of one after another of its elders, and of many of its most respected members. Mr. Ferrier seceded on Glassite, and soon afterwards, Mr. Robert Moncrieff followed, on Baptist principles. It appears that Baptist principles had agitated the body from a very early period of its history. A pamphlet, the joint production of several of the members, in favour of infant baptism, was published in 1776. In the course of the following year it produced a reply from the pen of Mr. Archibald M'Lean, one of the pastors of the Baptist Church in Edinburgh, entitled, "*Believers' Baptism in opposition to Infant Sprinkling.*" This reply staggered the faith of many of Mr. Dale's friends, for one of their own number of that day writes that "many of them left the church and were baptized, and amongst these was the chief compiler of the pamphlet in defence of infant baptism, which he had boasted of as being sufficient to confound all the Baptists in the world." Soon after this, Mr. Robert Moncrieff's secession from the church took place. This individual, brother of the late Rev. Sir Harry Moncrieff, Bart., who had been educated for the medical profession, which he practised in one of its branches for some time, is described by the writer quoted above as "a young man of considerable knowledge of the Scripture, and has a talent for communicating what he believes in a plain, easy, and agreeable manner, having a great command of language, and fluency of words." With Mr. Moncrieff, many of the members of the church seceded, and joined the Baptists; amongst these was Mrs. Dale, who continued in that communion to the end of her days. Mr.

Moncrieff being a popular preacher, nearly all the hearers followed him; the place in which Mr. Dale officiated was in consequence very much deserted, and continued to be so for some time. Although the church thus lost many of its members, with very few exceptions, none appear either to have left, or to have been excluded on account of error in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel; and the church itself has never swerved from the principles which it first professed.

Mr. Dale never appeared in print as an author. He was opposed to the publication of the above-named pamphlet on infant baptism, and succeeded in preventing the appearance of a second, which was written in reply. Although he did not publish his own views to the world, and discouraged others from doing so, he freely availed himself of the pulpit for expounding and vindicating the distinctive principles of his communion. A statement of these principles may here be introduced.

In 1813 a correspondence took place betwixt the churches in Scotland with which Mr. Dale stood connected (which, by this time, had assumed the name of the Old Independent Churches, to distinguish them from the more modern, raised by Messrs. Haldane, Ewing, and others), and the Inghamite churches* in England, which, in 1814, produced a union of these two bodies, which still exists. This correspondence was printed; from one of the letters of which, written by the late Mr. James M'Gavin, one of the elders of the church at Paisley, we shall transcribe, what it professes to contain, "a concise abstract of the faith, hope, and practice of these churches."

First, "We receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the Word of God; and that these two Testaments (not singly, but as united) are the only rule of faith and practice."

Second, "As taught in these oracles, we profess to believe, that by the first man's disobedience all are become guilty before God, and are so constituted by the imputation of his one offence, as well as by our own actual transgression against the royal law of God, which requires a perfection of godliness and humanity—hence are naturally under its curse; and that 'by the deeds of the law no flesh can be justified' in his sight."

Third, "That the Lord Jesus Christ, who is God equal with the Father, was 'born of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them who are under the curse of the law'—that 'he was made a curse in bearing our sins in his own body'—that 'sin was imputed to him, who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners'—that in the work the Father gave him to do as his righteous servant, he 'obeyed the law as our surety, and made atonement for sin in his own divine blood'—that in his obedience unto death, 'he magnified the law, and made it honourable, and brought in an everlasting righteousness'—and our assurance of the truth of this rests in the Father's raising him

* The Inghamite churches date their origin from Mr. Benjamin Ingham, who, in 1735, was ordained to the ministry by Dr. Potter, bishop of Oxford. He at first attached himself to John Wesley, and at his request went on a preaching tour to America. On his return, in 1741, he married Lady Margaret Hastings, sister to the Earl of Huntingdon. He founded religious bodies, about sixty in number, chiefly in the midland and northern counties of England, modelled on the plan of the Wesleyan and Moravian societies. They, however, very soon resiled from the peculiarities of Methodism, and adopted principles and practices almost the same as were afterwards adopted by the churches in Scotland. On the two parties discovering this, in 1812, a formal union of Christian brotherhood betwixt the two was formed in 1814.

from the dead, and giving him glory and honour at his own right hand; thus testifying that he is well pleased, and requires no more offering for sin."

Fourth, "That by the work of the Lord Jesus, all who believe are justified from all things; that we are not justified on account of crediting God's testimony concerning his Son, but by his righteousness alone; and that it is given on the behalf of Christ to believe; so that faith is truly the channel through which the Divine righteousness is imputed to the ungodly just as they are—guilty criminals—and that on the footing of sovereign mercy, and according to the election of grace, viz., that God will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he passeth by."

Fifth, "That the Holy Spirit, who is equal with the Father and the Son, is the grand agent in teaching of sin and of righteousness; that his operations, both in conversion and in leading to a life of holiness, are only by the means of the written Word. Almighty power keeps through the faith unto salvation; the perseverance of the saints is thus secured; for whom the Lord loves, he loves unto the end."

Sixth, "Such being our faith, we profess to have our hope for eternal life resting on the one thing needful alone, the sole requisite for justification; and although called to a life of conformity to the image of God's dear Son, without which no man shall see the Lord, yet this does not in any respect form part of our acceptance before him; it justifies our faith, as being of the operation of God to the praise of his glory."

Seventh, "Our hopes reach forth to the second coming of the Lord from heaven, to change our vile bodies, and fashion them like to his glorious body and so to be ever with the Lord."

Eighth, "We profess to hold our Lord's good confession, that his kingdom is not of this world (though in part in the world), that a church of Christ is subject to no jurisdiction under heaven, not under law even to those who are members one of another (although by love they are to serve one another), but under law to him who is the head of the body, and sole lawgiver in his own kingdom; and with respect to the subjects of his kingdom, we view infants as comprehended, so we receive such by baptism." And—

Ninth, "We profess to keep the ordinances as they are delivered to us, by (every Lord's-day) continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine (i.e., in reading, preaching, or exhorting, either by the elders or other male members) in fellowship, in breaking of bread, and in prayers—the prayers also both by the elders and other brethren."

When we turn from the survey of Mr. Dale's multifarious duties as the pastor of a pretty numerous church, to his active charities as a philanthropist, we are left to wonder how he could find time and strength to go through with the many duties he took in hand. We find him, at an early period, regularly visiting Bridewell, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the convicts; and his example in this respect was long followed by his colleagues in the church. He every year made excursions to distant parts of the country, visiting and comforting the churches with which he stood connected.

Although Mr. Dale shunned the ostentatious display of benevolence, yet his liberality could not always be hid. The present generation have, at times, had to pay very high prices for the necessaries of life, yet no dread of famine, or even partial scarcity, at least in Scotland, has been entertained for at least half a century. Not so, however, during Mr. Dale's time; for at that period the poor had

occasionally to pay ransom prices for food, and even at these prices it sometimes could not be obtained. In the dearth of 1782, 1791-93, and in 1799, Mr. Dale imported, at his own risk, large quantities of food from Ireland, America, and the continent of Europe. To effect this, he chartered ships for the special purpose. The food thus brought in he retailed to the poor at prime cost, thereby in great measure averting the threatened famine, and preventing a still greater advance in prices.

In addition to the benefits, spiritual and temporal, conferred on his countrymen at home, he engaged with the same ardour in most of the schemes then in operation for extending a knowledge of the gospel of peace in foreign countries, especially those which had for their object the translation and circulation of the Word of God. The proposal to translate the Scriptures into the various languages of our eastern empire, as projected and accomplished by the Baptist Missionary Society, had his hearty support from the outset. Mr. Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, who travelled for the purpose of collecting funds for this object, was kindly received by Mr. Dale, and from him received large contributions for the cause. In Mr. Fuller's sermon on covetousness, preached sometime after Mr. Dale's death, and printed in the fourth volume of his works, when enjoining on his hearers *who have*, to give of their abundance, and to do so liberally, he says, "The poor people of Glasgow used to say of a late great and good man of that city—'David Dale gives his money by sho'elsful, but God Almighty sho'els it back again.'" This is nothing more than was predicted by Solomon when he said, "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to penury." The printing and circulating of the Word of God without note or comment, proposed as the fundamental law of the British and Foreign Bible Society at its formation in 1804, also met with his cordial approbation; indeed, so much was he pleased with the objects of this noble institution, as to use his influence in the formation of an auxiliary to the parent institution, which was accomplished in July, 1805, being the first auxiliary to the Bible Society. The society then formed continued in operation till 1812, when it merged into the Glasgow Auxiliary, which still exists. On this subject we find, in the first report of that society, the following testimony, page 19:—"Immediately upon the arrival of the tidings that a society had been formed in London, of which the exclusive object was the circulation throughout the whole world of the pure Word of God without note or comment, the late David Dale, Esq., delighted with the grandeur and simplicity of the idea, entered into it, as all who knew him might have expected, with his whole heart. He immediately remitted a subscription worthy of his usual benevolence; he spoke of the institution to others, who instantly caught the same ardour, and expressed it in the same way; and thus, under his auspices, a society was at length formed (a meeting of the friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society having been called for this purpose by public advertisement), which appointed a treasurer, a secretary, and a committee of management, kept regular books, and continued to hold its stated and occasional meetings for several years. In this way Mr. Dale naturally came to be recognized, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, as their treasurer and general agent for Glasgow and the west of Scotland, in which capacity he continued to act till his lamented death."

After the sale of the Lanark mills, till his death six years thereafter, Mr. Dale in great measure retired from business pursuits. During this time he gave an

hour or two daily to attendance at the bank, and the winding up of his own private concerns occupied an equal share of his attention ; but at no period of his life were his public and private acts of benevolence, or his duties in the pastoral office, more attended to than at this time. For some months before February, 1806, it was seen that his health and strength were failing. About the 1st of March of that year he was confined to bed, and died in peace on the 17th day of the same month, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in his house, Charlotte Street, Glasgow. In his last illness, he frequently expressed his confidence as resting on the fulness, freeness, and simplicity of the gospel truth which he had for so long a period preached to others. His remains were interred in St. David's church burying-ground. No sculptured marble marks the place where all that is mortal of this good man reposes. The spot is indicated by a hewn stone built into the east boundary-wall, inclosed by an iron railing, about midway betwixt the south and north corner of the ground, having on it the following plain inscription :—"The burying-ground of David Dale, merchant, Glasgow, 1780." The funeral was attended by the magistrates, clergy, and chief officials of the city, and by a numerous assemblage of private friends, amounting to several hundreds. Mr. Dale was the father of one son, named William, after his grandfather, who died in 1789, when in his seventh year, and five daughters, all of whom survived him. Two of these are now dead ; of the remaining three, two are married to clergymen of the Episcopal Church. In person, Mr. Dale was short and corpulent. A small portrait of him, of no great artistical merit, was etched, which, however, is said to be a fair likeness. His name was not given, but the portrait was entitled, "The Benevolent Magistrate." It was copied into "Kay's Edinburgh Portraits," and also into "Stewart's Views of Glasgow in Former Times." He was of a cheerful temperament, of easy access, lively and communicative ; and, when in the company of friends, he freely relaxed all formal restraints. He had a good musical taste, and in the company of his private friends sung some of the old Scotch songs with great effect, particularly the "Flowers of the Forest," with such intense feelings as to draw tears from his auditory. Without giving offence, he could make a pithy and facetious remark ; and without taking any, he could bear a joke by a friend, although the subject of it might be some peculiarity or oddity about himself. He once told a friend that he had slipped on the ice, and "fallen all his length." "Be thankful, sir, it was not all your breadth," was the apt reply.

He never took a prominent part in the keen disputes of the party-politics of his day ; but, when it was necessary, he avowed himself to be of the aristocratic party then in power. At this period he had a nephew of his own name whom he put into business in Glasgow. This young man was a democrat, and sometimes attended the meetings of the "Friends of the People." Old Mr. Dale was grievously offended on such occasions at seeing it announced in the newspapers that such meetings were honoured by the presence of David Dale, Esq. The establishment of the branch of the Royal Bank in Glasgow, in 1783, proved to be of great service in promoting the trade of the city, especially in the manufacture of cotton goods, which made rapid progress from that date. Mr. Dale's management of the bank business was never objected to ; he was discriminating and liberal in granting loans to the industrious prudent trader, while he had the firmness to resist the advances of the mere speculator. An anecdote has been preserved illustrative of his feelings and humanity towards an unfortunate individual who had committed forgery. A young man pre-

sented a draft for discount, which Mr. Dale considered to be a forged document; he sent for the young man, and in private informed him of his suspicions; the fact was acknowledged: Mr. Dale then pointed out to him the risk he put his life in by such an act, destroyed the bill, that no proof of his guilt should remain, and finding that he had been led to it by pecuniary difficulties, gave him some money, and dismissed him with a suitable admonition. In regard to his usefulness as a preacher of the gospel, the late Dr. Wardlaw used to say of Mr. Dale, that he was a most scriptural and instructive teacher of a Christian church. He had not acquired in early life a knowledge of the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, but this lack was amply supplied by application in after life. He could read with understanding the Hebrew and Greek; the Old and New Testaments were frequently, perhaps daily, studied by him in these languages. His public discourses were sententious. For several years before his death his pulpit services were listened to by many who came on purpose to hear his preaching.

Various estimates of the fortune which Mr. Dale had realized were made about the period of his death; the probability is that one and all were far wide of the truth. A vast amount of his effects consisted in mill buildings and machinery, which are of a very fluctuating value. A considerable part too was locked up in business concerns in operation, of which he was copartner, some of which were not closed for many years, and some of these proved to be very unprofitable. The exact, or even estimated amount, was never made known to the public, but it must, at the period referred to, have been very considerable. From the losses sustained in winding up, however, it is generally understood that a large portion was swept away, and that but a comparatively small part came ultimately to his family.

It was a general rule in the last century, in all large concerns, to engage assistants for a lengthened period, generally for ten or twelve years. The salary which, in these days, was small in comparison to what is now given, was fixed at the commencement of the term of servitude, and before the capabilities of the person were known. Mr. Dale followed this plan very generally, and from time to time elevated to higher places of trust those who evinced an aptitude for more onerous duties; but it was remarked at the time that he seldom, if ever, increased the salary in proportion to the greater responsibilities, nor in general would he allow the individual to leave till the end of the engagement, even when his doing so would have improved his circumstances. No doubt in this he acted in strict justice, but not with that generosity which his great benevolence would have led us to expect. His actings in these matters were considered by his best friends as rather sharp dealing; but he was invulnerable when remonstrated with on the subject, and would refer in justification to the usages of trade of that day. Notwithstanding, he never lost the confidence and favour of his old servants, who always spoke of him with the greatest respect. And it has been remarked, that he must have been fortunate in the selection of his confidential servants, as most of them afterwards rose to commercial eminence. It must be confessed that Mr. Dale's engaging in so many concerns, and pursuing with eagerness such a variety of large business speculations, was scarcely consistent with that moderation in all things which is enjoined on the Christian. It is true he had great business talent, forethought, sagacity, and strict integrity, which gave success to his schemes, and secured to him at an early period great commercial credit—that credit at times serving him in place

of capital. The very success which followed his earliest enterprises would lead him on to the adoption of others, some of which, as has been shown, proved total failures, causing great loss. Whether from this or from other causes is not now known, but at various periods of his business life he was much reduced in circumstances. He used to tell his friends that three times in his life he was thrown back on the world, and on each occasion could scarcely call himself worth anything. This surely was trading on too narrow a margin, too near the verge of bankruptcy, which, had it taken place, would have involved others in injury and suffering, and brought discredit on his Christian character. But with all his shortcomings, David Dale was a great and a good man. He did essential service to the commerce of his country, at a period when it required the impetus of such a mind. He was the friend of the working-classes, whom he provided with remunerative occupation, whilst he took delight in educating their children, and training them at his own expense, to habits of intelligence and industry. His unbounded benevolence endeared him to all classes of the people and his Christian character to the church of which he was an ornament. The following tribute to the memory of David Dale, from the pen of Dr. Wardlaw, appeared as an obituary notice in the "Glasgow Herald," of March 1806:—

"The character of this good man comprehends in it so many points of distinguished excellence, that nothing more than an imperfect outline can here be inserted. He had not in the outset of life enjoyed the advantage of a polished or liberal education, but the want of it was greatly compensated by a large share of natural sagacity and good sense, and extensive and discriminating knowledge of human character, and by a modest, gentle, dignified simplicity of manner, peculiar to himself, and which secured to him the respect and attention of every company, and of men of every rank of life. A zealous promoter of the general industry and manufactures of his country, his schemes of business were extensive and liberal, conducted with singular prudence and perseverance, and, by the blessing of God, were crowned with such abundant success as served to advance his rank in society, and to furnish him with the means of that diffusive benevolence which rendered his life a public blessing, and shed a lustre on his character, rarely exemplified in any age of the world. Impelled by the all-powerful influence of that truth which he firmly believed and publicly taught, constrained by the love and animated by the example of his beloved Master, his ear was never shut to the cry of distress; his private charities were boundless; and every public institution which had for its object the alleviation or prevention of human misery in this world, or in the world to come, received from him the most liberal support and encouragement. For while the leading object of his heaven-born soul was the diffusion of the light of truth in the earth, he gladly embraced every opportunity of becoming, like the patriarch of old, 'eyes to the blind,' 'feet to the lame,' and to 'cause the widow's heart to sing for joy.' In private life his conduct, actuated by the same principles, was equally exemplary, for he was a kind parent, a generous friend, a wise and faithful counsellor, 'a lover of hospitality,' 'a lover of good men,' 'sober, just, holy, temperate;' and now, having 'thus occupied with his talents,' 'he hath entered into the joy of his Lord.'"

In "The Evening Star," a London paper, of March 22, 1806, appeared a similar eulogium, written by the editor, Dr. Alexander Tilloch, a native of Glasgow, and author of various publications—literary, scientific, and religious. "His life (said this writer) was a life of benevolence and extensive charity, without

ostentation, without pride. Indeed, his constant aim was to hide from the eye of man his numberless acts of mercy; even the individuals who were saved from wretchedness and want by his liberality, were often ignorant of the instrument which Providence had raised up for their deliverance. Agreeably to the injunction of the Master whom he served, his alms were done in secret, but they could not be entirely hid. Mr. Dale was the first who erected cotton-mills in Scotland on the plan of Sir Richard Arkwright. His motive for doing so was highly praiseworthy; it was to extend the means of employment for the labouring poor, to introduce habits of industry among the lower orders, and render them useful to their families and the community. Nor was his attention merely confined to the object of finding them bread; he erected and maintained schools, at his own expense, for the education of all the young people employed, and every means which he could devise was used to have them instructed in religious knowledge.

"Mr. Dale was a Dissenter, and for many years one of the pastors of an Independent congregation in Glasgow. In this character he possessed the esteem, the love, and affection of not only the flock over which he presided, but of the clergy and people of every other denomination. In his conversation and uniform practice, he gave a meritorious example of the powerful influence of the Christian precepts, when men live under their influence, in leading them not only to attend with diligence to all the relative duties, making them good husbands, fathers, and neighbours, but loyal and dutiful subjects. Modest and unassuming in his manners, he endeavoured to hide himself from public notice; but 'a city set on a hill cannot be hid.' His fellow-citizens, hailing him as a father, and anxious to extend his sphere of useful action, showed their high esteem of this charitable Dissenter—charitable in the true sense of the word—by calling him into the council of the city, and making him one of its magistrates, an office which he discharged with singular diligence and paternal solicitude.

"During many years of the latter period of his life, he was consulted on all important measures, not only in matters relating to the public welfare of the city, but the private concerns of its citizens; nor did he ever refuse his services, for he considered not his life as his own, but as devoted to the welfare of his fellow-creatures."*

DALYELL, SIR JOHN GRAHAM, Bart.—This accomplished student and expositor of Scottish antiquarianism, like many who are devoted to that science, was the descendant of an ancient family of historical note, being the second son of Sir Robert, the fourth baronet of Binna, Linlithgowshire, while his mother, Elizabeth Graham, was of the family of Gartmore, and consequently a descendant of the "great marquis." He was born in 1777. Being devoted to more peaceful pursuits than his renowned ancestors, he studied for the Scottish bar, and was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1797. His favourite occupation, however, instead of inclining to that of a barrister on the boards of the Parliament House, was to keep aloof from the din of wordy war, and take refuge among the crypts of the Advocate's Library, absorbed in the study of that valuable collection of MSS. connected with Scottish history and antiquities, for which the library is so distinguished. The fruit of this was soon apparent; for two years had not elapsed after his enrolment as an advocate, when he pro-

* For this sketch of the life of David Dale, the publishers are indebted to a gentleman of kindred spirit—Andrew Liddell Esq.

duced his first work in quarto, entitled, "Fragments of Scottish History," containing, among other valuable matter, the "Diary of Robert Birrell, burghess of Edinburgh, from 1532 to 1608." Little more than two years afterwards (in 1801), he published, in two volumes octavo, a "Collection of Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century." Of the labour he underwent in the task, and the diligence with which he discharged it, an estimate may be formed from the fact, that in preparing this collection he had examined about seven hundred volumes of manuscripts. None, however, but those who are conversant with this kind of literature, can be fully aware of its difficulties, owing to the loose manner in which the Scottish poems of this period were transcribed, and the variety of readings, as well as amount of interpolated nonsense, with which they are disfigured. For these two works he found a fitting publisher in Mr. Archibald Constable, at that time an antiquarian, and the friend of antiquarians, whose old-book shop at the Cross was the favourite haunt of those distinguished men, by whose publications he afterwards became a prince in the realms of literature.

The next work of Mr. Graham Dalyell, was a "Tract chiefly relative to Monastic Antiquities, with some account of a recent search for the Remains of the Scottish Kings interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline." This work, which appeared in 1809, was the first of a series of four or five thin octavos, illustrative of our Scottish ecclesiastical records, which he issued at various intervals; and the chartularies which he severally illustrated were those of the bishoprics of Aberdeen and Murray, the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, the Chapel Royal of Stirling, and the Preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith—the series having been carried on till 1828. But this was not his only occupation, as during the long interval he published an edition of the "Journal of Richard Bannatyne," the secretary and amanuensis of John Knox; and another, of the "Scottish Chronicle of Lindsay of Pitcottie." By way of literary divertimento amidst these labours in our national antiquities, Mr. Dalyell also published, in 1811, "Some Account of an Ancient Manuscript of Martial's Epigrams," which was illustrated by an engraving, and anecdotes explanatory of the manners and customs of the Romans. Of these only thirty copies were printed, six of them being on vellum.

A more important work than any of the preceding, and requiring a larger amount of original thought as well as wider research, was published by Mr. Dalyell in 1834, under the title of "An Essay on the Darker Superstitions of Scotland." Such a title sufficiently intimates not only the extent of reading it required among books the most trying to the patience of a diligent investigator, but also those depths of time into which he was compelled to grope, in the midst of darkness and doubt, while he traced our national superstitions to their primitive homes in the forests of Germany, upon the shores of Norway, or even the more dismal and unknown wilds of Scythia. The last work which he published was the "Musical Memoirs of Scotland." This appeared in 1850, when he was now in his seventy-third year; but the vivacity of style in which it is written, and the sprightly character of the anecdotes with which the subject is illustrated, give no indications either of the feebleness or the apathy of old age. The work possesses also the additional recommendation of a splendid quarto form and many excellent engravings, for he was not only an ardent lover of music, but a thorough judge of it as a science, and through life he had always affectionately turned to it as a relief from his more severe occupations.

Besides those literary productions we have mentioned, comprising an author-

ship of fifty years' duration, Mr. Graham Dalyell published "Observations on some Interesting Phenomena in Animal Physiology, exhibited by several Species of Planarie," 8vo, 1814. Another work, which he published in 1847, in two splendid quartos, enriched with more than a hundred coloured plates, drawn from the living subjects, was entitled, "Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland, represented from Living Subjects, with Practical Observations on their Nature." He was also the author of several articles in the "Encyclopedia Britannica."

From the foregoing brief notice, some estimate may be formed of the literary character of Mr. Dalyell. An antiquary at a time when Scottish antiquarianism was little cultivated, his labours as well as his example gave a powerful impulse to that study, which soon became so widely diffused, and has been productive of such happy results. It is owing, indeed, to this spirit of inquiry, that few histories of nations have been more effectually cleared from darkness, and purified from error, than that of Scotland, although few have undergone such a cruel process as that which was devised to annihilate it. But Mr. Dalyell was something more than an antiquary, although he stood in the front rank of the order; he was also an accomplished classical scholar, and well acquainted with mechanical science and natural history, of which his writings are an abundant proof. Although as an author he was so prolific, his diligence and perseverance are the more to be admired, when we remember that such was his fastidiousness in composition, that he would seldom commit his manuscript to the press until it had been re-written four or five times over.

Sir John Graham Dalyell received the honour of knighthood by patent in 1836, and succeeded to the baronetcy of Binns, by the death of his elder brother, in 1841. His own death occurred on the 7th of June, 1851. As he was never married, he was succeeded in his title and estates by his brother, Sir William Cunningham Cavendish Dalyell, commander in the royal navy.

DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD, surnamed BELL-THE-CAT, was the son of George, fifth Earl of Angus. The elder branch of the noble house of Douglas, that was represented by the holders of the earldom of that name, and the dukedom of Touraine in France, had become so powerful, and so dangerous to the royal family, that the Stuarts had tried by every plan, both of violence and policy, to lessen its influence and circumscribe its power. One method which they adopted was, to exalt the house of Angus, a younger branch of the family. But this only superseded one evil by another, and the Earls of Angus soon threatened to become as formidable to royal authority as the Earls of Douglas had formerly been. Archibald, who succeeded to the earldom of Angus when only six or seven years old, was born to an inheritance which his father had greatly enlarged, so that when the young minor attained to manhood, he was by far the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and he was commonly called the "Great Earl of Angus." He married, in 1408, Elizabeth Boyd, daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd, the all-powerful and afterwards disgraced minister of James III., by whom he had four sons and three daughters.

During the earlier part of the reign of James III., little of Angus is known, except that he was distinguished for stature, strength, and courage, like most of his race, as well as for great possessions and political influence. It was probably during this reign that an event occurred, characteristic of the man and the times. One day, at table, as the king was conversing with his courtiers, of the men of Scotland who were pre-eminent in corporeal endowments, all pre-

sent, except Spence of Kilspindie, gave the preference to the Earl of Angus. This man, in a luckless hour for himself, began to speak disparagingly of the earl, in the true Scottish fashion of doubt, saying, "It is true, if all be good that is up-come," insinuating that the earl's valour and courage might not be quite corresponding to his appearance. Douglas heard of the taunt, and vowed a deadly revenge. One day after this, while riding from Douglas to Tantallan, having sent his train another way, the earl continued his journey, attended by a single follower, each having a hawk on his wrist; and in the neighbourhood of the town of Fala, they lighted at a brook, for the purpose of bathing their birds. While thus employed, the laird of Kilspindie approached them, travelling from the opposite direction. "Is not this Spence?" the earl asked of his retainer; "the man who made question of my manhood? I will go and give him a trial of it, that we may know which of us is the better man." The servant would have dissuaded him from encountering one his inferior in rank, and offered to go in his stead; but to this Angus answered, "I see he hath one with him; do thou grapple with the attendant, whilst I deal with the master." Having fastened their hawks, that they might not fly away, and mounted their horses, the pair rode forward to achieve this double duel. "Wherefore did you speak of me so contemptuously, and doubt whether my courage was equal to my appearance?" cried Angus, in a loud tone of challenge. Spence, thus confronted, and brought to bay, would fain have excused himself, but the other would not be so satisfied. "We are both tall fellows, and one of us must pay for it," he exclaimed; while the other, warming in anger, replied, "If better may not be, there is never an earl in Scotland but I will defend myself against him, and kill him if I can, rather than that he should kill me." They alighted from their horses, and commenced a desperate combat with their two-handed swords. But the affair was of brief continuance; for Angus, with one tremendous blow, cut asunder the other's leg by the thigh-bone, so that the limb was lopped off like a branch beneath the gardener's pruning-hook, and Spence died a few moments after. When the conflict between the principals was thus ended, Angus put a stop to that which had commenced between the two retainers, and said to Spence's follower, "Go thy way, and tell my gossip the king that there was nothing but fair play here. I know my gossip will be offended; but I will get me into Liddesdale, and remain in the Hermitage till his anger is over." This he did; and the only penalty he underwent for the deed was an exchange of the lands of Liddesdale for those of Bothwell, as the king declared that no order could be kept with the Earls of Angus as long as they held the former.

In the history of Scotland, nothing can be more revolting than the feuds and factions of the nobles, by which the country was rent asunder, unless it be the readiness with which they joined the cause of England when their avarice or ambition was solicited by a tempting bribe. Such had ever been the case since the war of Scottish independence commenced. An excuse, perhaps, might be found for the earliest defaulters, in the fact that they were Anglo-Normans, who had but recently become Scotsmen; that they held estates in England sometimes more valuable than those they possessed in Scotland; and that their homage was due to the sovereign of either kingdom indifferently, as their lord paramount. But no such excuse can be offered for their unworthy successors, who continued the same course of treachery and double-dealing, after a descent of more than two centuries had made them natives of the soil. Hence it was that the reign of James III. was so full of trouble, and finally so disastrous. In conse-

quence of his unwarlike habits, and devotedness to mean favourites, the Scottish nobles preferred his brother, the Duke of Albany, whose stirring spirit and martial disposition were more to their taste; and when the latter intrigued with the king of England to supplant his royal brother, and reign in his stead, a powerful band of the Scottish nobility were ready to support him, although the price of English aid was to be nothing less than the independence of Scotland. Albany was to be king; but he was to reign as vassal of Edward IV., and do homage to the latter for his crown. In this infamous coalition, we regret to find the Earl of Angus a leading member; and from his possessing the wardenship of the eastern marches, by which the keys of Scotland were at his belt, he seems to have been the firmest dependence of the unscrupulous Albany. On one occasion, however, in the midst of these intrigues, we find Angus acting with a more patriotic spirit. After a peaceful season of unwonted duration between the two countries, James III., at the instigation of France, resolved in 1480 to make war on England; upon which Edward IV. prepared for resistance, by appointing his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., lieutenant-general of the north, to conduct an invasion into Scotland. But before this able leader could assemble his forces, the Earl of Angus, at the head of a small army, made a furious irruption across the marches into England, and for three days ravaged the rich districts of Northumberland, and then retired unmolested, laden with plunder. After this bold deed, however, he retired again to his intrigues; and when Albany consented to hold the Scottish crown from Edward IV. as his vassal, Angus was one of the commissioners appointed by the duke to draw up the articles of negotiation, and complete the treaty.

In the meantime, the conduct of the weak infatuated king of Scotland seemed too much to justify these treasonable proceedings. In addition to the few scholars and lovers of the fine arts whom he had taken into his confidence, his chief associates were astrologers, quacks, and low mechanics, whose society he preferred to that of his high-born nobles and experienced statesmen. It was not wonderful, therefore, that not only the aristocracy, but also the commons preferred, to such a sovereign, the stately bearing, popular demeanour, and chivalrous accomplishments of his brother, Albany. But of all the favourites of James, the most valued, and consequently the most obnoxious, was Cochrane, a man of low birth, and an architect by profession, but indignantly termed in our old chronicles a stone-mason, whom the king had raised to the earldom of Mar. Such a man was well fitted, as a royal favourite, for the ruin of a weak, confiding master; for he not only outshone the nobles by the splendour of his style of living, but even excelled most of them in personal comeliness, strength, and dexterity in warlike exercises, so that he could confront the frowning courtiers with a fearlessness equal to their own. But his crowning offence, and one for which he merited full punishment, was the advice which he gave to his sovereign during a season of great dearth, to debase the current coin, by which, while he increased his own wealth, and enriched the royal treasury, the price of provisions was raised, and the bitterness of famine aggravated. It seemed to the nobles a convenient season to wreak their resentment, by sweeping the royal favourites from their path. It is also alleged, that in this crisis the Earl of Angus and his associates entertained the further design of dethroning James, and exalting Albany in his room.

All being in readiness for the accomplishment of their purposes, the Duke of Gloucester, who was privy to their design, put his forces in motion, and laid

siege to the town of Berwick. A muster of the Scottish troops was the consequence; and an army of fifty thousand, that was assembled at the Boroughmuir, marched first to Soutra, and then to Lauder, having the king at their head, accompanied by his unworthy minions. Most conspicuous among these was Cochrane, to whom the command of the artillery was intrusted, and who, on this occasion, appeared with a splendour which few Scottish kings had hitherto equalled. His pavilion was of silken drapery, the fastening chains of which were richly gilt; his camp-furniture shone with gold and silver; and his body-guard consisted of three hundred tall retainers, dressed in rich liveries, and armed with battle-axes. It was the last glitter of a falling star before it disappeared for ever! On encamping at Lauder, the nobles assembled in the church, and proceeded to deliberate upon the best means of removing the favourites from the royal person. Cochrane, as the most obnoxious, was the chief object at which their discussion pointed; but to punish him was a task of danger, not only on account of his master's protection, but his own courage, and the military retainers by whom he was surrounded. All this was expressed by Lord Gray, who repeated on the occasion a homely apologue. "The micc," he said, "having been continually annoyed by the inroads of the cat, met in council to devise the best mode of delivering themselves from her tyranny. At length, after various measures had been proposed, it was agreed that the best plan was to hang a bell round her neck, that thus they might receive due notice of the destroyer's approach. This pleased the whole meeting; but just when they were about to break up, the question occurred, 'What mouse will adventure to hang the bell about the cat's neck?'" Here the speaker paused; upon which Angus, raising his stalwart form in the midst of the council, briefly and boldly exclaimed, "I will bell the cat!" From this answer he derived the singular cognomen by which he is known in Scottish history.

No sooner had this decision been announced than a knocking was heard at the church door; upon which Douglas of Lochleven, who kept guard there, demanded to know who it was that sought admittance. "It is I, the Earl of Mar," cried the person without. He thought that a council of war had been assembled, and was desirous to be present at their deliberations. The door was gladly opened to the victim, who entered, unsuspecting of danger. "It does not become thee to wear this collar," cried Angus, stepping up to him, and rudely snatching from his neck the gold chain which he wore; "a rope would suit thee better!" "Nor yet this horn," said Douglas of Lochleven, plucking away the jewelled hunting-horn that dangled by his side; "thou hast already hunted after mischief too long!" Cochrane, as fearless as any man present, imagined that nothing more than some rude pleasantry was intended, and asked, "My lords, is this jest or earnest?" The only answer given was his instant seizure; his hands were pinioned, and a guard was placed over him. Having thus secured the principal culprit, the conspirators strode onward to the royal tent; and, before an alarm could be raised in the king's behalf, not only his favourites, but himself also were prisoners in their hands. No trial followed of the men who were already prejudged and doomed. They were dragged to Lauder bridge; and there Torphichen the dancing-master, Hummil the tailor, Rogers the musician, Leonard, Preston, and the other royal favourites, were hanged over the parapet. Cochrane, who felt his "ruling passion strong in death," only requested to be hanged with one of the silken cords from his tent, and not strangled with a hempen rope, like a sorry cur; but, instead of

acceding to his dying wish, they hanged him over the bridge in a halter of horse hair. After this the nobles disbanded their feudal array, being only anxious to secure the person of the king, while the Duke of Gloucester was enabled to take Berwick without resistance, and advance unopposed to the capital. It was now deemed a fitting time by Angus and his associates to hint at their plan, which they had kept in reserve, of dethroning the king, and placing Albany in his room, under English protection; but the Scottish nobles were not only astonished, but indignant at the idea. They had caballed against the king, and executed summary justice upon his favourites; but to sacrifice the liberties of their country had never entered into their calculations. Bell-the-Cat, therefore, with all his audacity, was obliged to unite with them, not only in opposing the English invasion, but effecting a reconciliation between the royal brothers. After this last measure was accomplished, Angus returned to his disloyal and unnational intrigues, as the principal negotiator of the Duke of Albany with the English government; until, at last, the duke himself was impeached by the Estates as a traitor, and obliged to flee, first to England and afterwards to France, where, a few years after, he was killed, not in actual battle, but in the chance-medley of an idle tournament.

After the departure of the Duke of Albany from the kingdom, the Earl of Angus scarcely appears in Scottish history; or, if his name occurs, it is only incidentally. It is scarcely to be supposed, however, that he remained idle during the plots that were afterwards formed against James III.; and it is certain, that when the rebellion broke out, he was one of the insurgent lords who fought against the royal army at the battle of Sauchie Burn, at which the king was assassinated while he fled from the field. On the accession of James IV., still a minor, the earl was allowed to take his full share in the government; but when the young king had arrived at manhood, his vigorous intellect soon perceived that the lords, who had arrayed him in arms against his father, and procured his advancement to the throne, had only used him as a tool for their own selfish purposes. He therefore regarded them with displeasure; and among the foremost of these was the Earl of Angus, who, in consequence, went to England full of resentment, and there entered into a secret treaty with Henry VII., the particulars of which are unknown. It appears, however, to have been so suspicious, that on his return to Scotland, he was met by an order from the king to confine himself in ward in his castle of Tantallan; and soon after, the lands and lordship of Liddesdale, and the castle of Hermitage, were taken from him, and given to the Earl of Bothwell.

The reign of James IV. was popular and energetic—one of those reigns, indeed, in which neither royal favourite nor royal antagonist can have much hope of success. For years, therefore, extending from 1491 to 1513, we hear nothing in our national annals of the bold ambitious Earl of Angus; and it is probable that during this long interval he quietly took his place as a Scottish councillor in the Estates, and a feudal chief among his retainers, neither suspected nor giving cause of suspicion. It is also not unlikely, that seeing his country in peace, and every year becoming more prosperous, his better feelings may have taught him that those turbulent schemes in which he had been formerly engaged were not, by any means, the best for ultimately accomplishing the happiness and independence of Scotland. That such was the effect of his retrospections, as years advanced upon him, may be charitably concluded from the closing scene of his career.

That scene was connected with one of the saddest events in Scottish history. Henry VII., the leading feature of whose politics was to keep peace with Scotland, and whose endeavours to that effect had been eminently successful, died; and his son and successor, Henry VIII., was to the full as quarrelsome as his father had been prudent and conciliatory. Between two such fiery spirits, therefore, as himself and James IV., brothers-in-law though they were, the unwonted tranquillity that had prevailed so long between the two kingdoms could scarcely be expected to last much longer; and, in 1513, James invaded England, at the head of an army one hundred thousand strong. Not only the whole military force, but all the noble houses of Scotland, had been mustered for the occasion; and among the latter was Angus, still, in spite of his former failures, the most powerful peer of the realm. But his experienced eye seems to have soon detected the blunders and anticipated the disastrous close of this expedition, which James commenced with a mere chivalrous freak. He was advancing, forsooth, three steps into English ground to vindicate the beauty and fair name of the Queen of France, as her chosen knight-errant and champion! The king's whole conduct was commensurate with this beginning. He squandered his vast resources in the capture of a few paltry castles; allowed himself to be besotted with the charms of an English lady whom he had taken prisoner, and who deliberately betrayed him to her countrymen; and loitered away his opportunities in her company, until more than half his army had deserted, while the English had assembled in full force. All this Angus witnessed, and witnessed, perhaps, with the bitter consciousness that his past dealings had deprived him of the moral influence by which he might have effectually interposed and arrested the coming ruin. At length, to crown his career of utter madness, James took up his position, and appointed his time for the approaching action, exactly according to the wishes of Surrey, the English general, who piqued the knight-errantry of the former to that effect. It was now time for the Scottish nobles to interpose; and Angus, whose experience, years, and rank entitled him to this privilege, earnestly advised the king either to make an instant attack, or commence a retreat while it was still in his power. But to these wise suggestions the king—across whose mind, perhaps, the scene of Lauder bridge at that moment flitted—replied, “Angus, if you are afraid, you may go home.” The earl burst into tears at this degrading taunt, and replied, that his former life might well have spared him such a reproach from his sovereign. “As for myself,” he added, “my age renders my body of no service, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and my vassals in the field. May the end be happy, and my forebodings unfounded!” With these words he rode away from the encampment, accompanied by a few attendants.

His forebodings, alas, were but too well-founded! The battle of Flodden was fought, in which the flower of Scottish manhood and nobleness was “a’ wode away;” and the old disconsolate man could scarcely have reached his home, and rested beneath its roof, when the stunning intelligence reached him. But besides this great national calamity, by which Scotland was threatened with a subjugation more complete than any she had yet experienced, Angus himself, both as a father and a feudal chief, was heavily visited by the event; for his two sons, George the Master of Angus, and Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, were both slain, along with two hundred gentlemen of the name of Douglas. In consequence of these tidings, the earl retired to St. Mains in Galloway,

where he led a life of austere mortification and devotion, which, however, was soon terminated; for he died there about a year after, and his body was buried in the church of St. Mains, while his heart was carried to Douglas, to the resting-place of many of his ancestry. His death occurred about the sixty-first or sixty-second year of his age.

DOUGLAS, DAVID.—It seldom happens in the present day, when the path of knowledge is accompanied with the comforts and facilities of a railway, that the pursuit of science is closed with the honours of martyrdom. In this case, however, the subject of the present memoir forms a rare and mournful exception.

David Douglas was born at Scone, in Perthshire, in the year 1793, and was the son of a working mason. After having received a common education at the parish school of Kinnoul, he was, at an early period, placed as an apprentice in the garden of the Earl of Mansfield, at Scone Palace. In this occupation his favourite pursuit had full scope and development, so that he soon became remarkable in the neighbourhood for his love of reading during the winter, and his researches in quest of wild plants during the months of summer. Thus he continued till his twentieth year, when a still more favourable opportunity of improvement presented itself at Valleyfield, the seat of Sir Robert Preston, in whose garden, famous for its store of rich exotics, he became a workman; and the head gardener of the establishment, Mr. Stewart, having observed the ardour of his young assistant in the study of botany as a science, procured him access to Sir Robert Preston's rich botanical library. From Valleyfield, David Douglas removed to Glasgow, where he was employed as gardener in the Botanic Garden of the university; and here the valuable knowledge he had acquired was so highly estimated by Dr., afterwards Sir William Hooker, the professor of Botany at Glasgow, that he made him the companion of his professional explorations while collecting materials for his "*Flora Scotica*." In this way Douglas had ample opportunity of improving his knowledge of plants in the Western Highlands, over which these scientific tours extended, as well as recommending himself to the favourable notice of one who could well appreciate his acquirements. The result was, that Professor Hooker recommended his talented assistant as a botanical collector to the Horticultural Society of London, by whom he was sent in 1823 to the United States, for the purpose of enriching our home collection in botany with choice transatlantic specimens; and this he successfully accomplished, by bringing home before the close of the year many fine plants, as well as a valuable collection of fruit trees, by which the store of the society in the latter important production was materially augmented.

The zeal and ability which Douglas had shown on this occasion soon procured him employment in a wider field of enterprise. This was to explore the botanical resources of the country adjoining the Columbia River, and southwards towards California, and ascertain its multifarious productions. He left England for this purpose in July 1824, and as soon as the vessel touched the shore he commenced his operations. This was at Rio-de-Janeiro, where a large collection of rare orchidaceous plants and bulbs rewarded his labours. Among these bulbs was a new species of gesneria, hitherto unknown to the botanists of England, and which Mr. Sabine, the secretary of the Horticultural Society, named the *G. Douglassii*, in honour of its discoverer. So rich was the soil, and so plentiful the productions of this part of South America, that Douglas, who could here have increased his scientific treasures to an indefinite extent, was obliged to

leave it with regret. In doubling Cape Horn, he shot several curious birds, only to be found in these latitudes, and carefully prepared them for being brought home. The vessel touched at the island of Juan Fernandez, that romantic residence of Alexander Selkirk; and Douglas, who was delighted with its wooded scenery and soil, sowed here a plentiful collection of garden seeds, in the hope that some future Robinson Crusoe would be comforted by the produce, should such a person again become its tenant. On the 7th of April, 1825, he arrived at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, where his proper mission was to commence; and here his fitness for it was well attested, by the immense collection of seeds and dried specimens which he transmitted to the Horticultural Society at home. Among his discoveries were several species of a pine of enormous size, one of these, belonging to the class which he called the *Pinus Lambertiana*, in honour of Mr. Lambert, vice-president of the Linnæan Society, measuring 215 feet in height, and 57 feet 9 inches in circumference. The cones of this forest Titan, of which he sent home specimens, were sixteen inches long, and eleven in circumference. But they had something else than mere bulk to recommend them; for their kernel, which is pleasant to the taste, and nutritious, is roasted or pounded into cakes by the Indians, and used as an important article of food; while the resin of the tree, on being subjected to the action of fire, acquires a sweet taste, and is used by the natives as sugar. After having spent two years in the country adjoining the Columbia, and exploring it in every direction, Douglas, in the spring of 1827, left Fort Vancouver, and crossed the Rocky Mountains to Hudson's Bay, where he met Sir John Franklin, Dr. Richardson, and Captain Back, on their way homeward from their second overland Arctic expedition, with whom he returned to England. His successful labours in botanical science, and the important additions he had made to it, insured him a hearty welcome among the most distinguished of the scientific scholars in London; so that, without solicitation, and free of all expense, he was elected a fellow of the Geological, Zoological, and Linnæan Societies. He was also requested to publish his travels, and a liberal offer to this effect was made to him by Mr. Murray, the publisher; but though he commenced the undertaking, he did not live to complete it, so that his authorship was confined to several papers which he contributed to the "Transactions" of the three societies of which he was elected a fellow; and extracts from his letters to Dr. Hooker, which were published in "Brewster's Edinburgh Journal" for January, 1828.

After remaining in London for two years, Mr. Douglas resumed his duties, and set off upon that last scientific tour which was destined to a melancholy termination. He returned to the Columbia River in 1829, and after some time spent in exploration among his former fields of research, which he prosecuted with his wonted ardour and success, he went to the Sandwich Islands. The inhabitants of these islands being in the practice of trapping wild bulls in pits dug for the purpose, Mr. Douglas, one evening, after a few months' residence, fell into one of these excavations, in which an animal had been previously snared; and the fierce creature, already maddened by its captivity, fell upon him, so that next morning he was found dead, and his body dreadfully mangled. This tragical event occurred on the 12th of July, 1834.

Thus prematurely, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was the life of this enterprising traveller and skilful botanist cut short. The value of his discoveries, even in so brief a career, it would be difficult fully to appreciate. He introduced into our country almost all the new hardy plants that enrich our

gardens. To these may be added many ornamental shrubs, as well as valuable timber trees that adorn our sylvan plantations, and give promise of extensive future advantage to Britain. Of the plants alone, which are too numerous to specify in this work, he introduced fifty-three of the woody, and 145 of the herbaceous genus, while his dried collection of Californian plants alone consists of about 800 different kinds. He was thus no mere curiosity hunter, but a benefactor to society at large; and it may be, that while new productions are implanted in our soil, and naturalized in our climate, the name of the humble but sagacious and enterprising individual who thus benefited our country for ages to come, will pass into utter forgetfulness. But if he has been unable to command immortality, he has done more—he has deserved it.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, EARL OF DOUGLAS.—This distinguished warrior, the close of whose life was so brilliant and romantic, was the second who bore the title of the earldom. From his earliest years he had been trained to warfare, in which his deeds were so remarkable that he was intrusted with high command, while the utmost confidence was reposed in his valour and leadership. This was especially the case in his final expedition, which was crowned by the victory of Otterburn.

At this period, Robert II., High Steward of Scotland, and son-in-law of Robert Bruce, was seated upon the throne of Scotland. His youth had been spent in war, in which he showed great activity and courage; but after his accession to the crown, he relapsed into a peaceful state, that was supposed by his impatient nobles to be merely the result of indolence. With this character he had already ruled eighteen years, while the war of independence against England still continued to rage; but notwithstanding his inertness, the valour of the Scottish nobility, and especially the Douglasses, had succeeded in repelling every English inroad. At length, in 1388, a favourable opportunity seemed to have arrived of carrying an invasion into England. The Black Prince, the great terror of France and prop of the English crown, was dead. Richard II., the King of England, now only twenty-one years old, was ruling with all the folly and arrogance of boyhood; his council was rent with divisions and feuds, the nobility were arrayed against him, while the commons, lately awakened into a sense of their rights by the Wat Tyler insurrection, were equally hostile to the king who misruled, and to the chiefs who impoverished and oppressed them. This state of things presented an opportunity for retaliation and plunder which the Scots could not resist, and they resolved to change their defensive into an aggressive warfare. A council was held for this purpose at Edinburgh; and although Robert II. was opposed to the dangerous measure, his wishes were disregarded. A military muster of the kingdom was ordered to meet at Yetholm, and on the day appointed an army was assembled, composed of the chief force of Scotland. Forty thousand spearmen, including a band of Scottish archers, and twelve hundred men-at-arms, were mustered upon the field of meeting—a greater force than that which had sufficed to achieve the victory of Bannockburn. The Earl of Fife, the king's second son, to whom the leading of this expedition had been committed, was neither a brave soldier nor a skilful general, but he had craft and policy enough to pass for both, while his chief captains were men inured to war, and well acquainted with the northern borders of England. The great question now at issue was the manner in which the invasion should be conducted, and the part of the English border that could be best assailed; and this was soon settled by a fortunate incident. The English

wardens, alarmed at this formidable muster, had sent a squire, disguised as a Scottish man-at-arms, to ascertain its nature and purposes, in which he was fully successful; but, on returning, he found that his horse, which he had tied to a tree in a neighbouring forest, had been stolen by some border freebooter. Encumbered by his armour, and suspected to be other than he seemed, from thus travelling on foot in such an array, he was soon pounced upon by the light-heeled outposts, and brought before the Scottish lords, to whom he made a full confession of all the plans and preparations of his masters. Judging it unsafe to hazard a pitched battle against so large an army, they had resolved to remain quiet until the Scots had crossed the marches, after which they would break in upon Scotland at some undefended point, and work their will in a counter-invasion. This intelligence decided the Scottish lords upon a plan that should at once have the invasion of England and the defence of their own country for its object. Their army was to be divided, and England invaded both by the eastern and western marches, so that the enemy should find sufficient occupation in their own country. In pursuance of this plan, the Earl of Fife, with the bulk of the army, marched through Liddesdale and Galloway, intending to advance upon Carlisle, while the other inroad was to break into Northumberland. As this last was designed for the lightest part of the campaign, not more than three hundred knights and men-at-arms, and about two thousand foot, were allotted to the service; but they were placed under the command of James, Earl of Douglas, who, though young, was already accounted one of the most practised and skilful leaders of the country. He was accompanied by George and John Dunbar, Earls of March and Moray, and several of the most distinguished Scottish knights, who were proud to serve under such a commander.

All being in readiness, the Earl of Douglas commenced the campaign by entering Northumberland. He crossed the Tyne, and by swift and secret marches approached Durham, having given orders to his army not to commence plundering until they had passed that city. It was then only that the English were aware of an enemy in the midst of them, by conflagration and havoc among their richest districts, while the course of the Scots, as they shifted hither and thither by rapid marches, could only be traced by burning villages and a dun atmosphere of smoke. The English, in the meantime, kept within their walls, imagining that this small body was the advanced guard of the main army, instead of an unsupported band of daring assailants. This was especially the case in Newcastle, where Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, famed in English history under the name of Hotspur; Sir Ralph, his brother, whose valour was scarcely inferior to his own, with many gallant knights and border barons, and a numerous host of military retainers, instead of sallying out, held themselves in readiness for a siege. At length, having wasted the country for miles, and enriched themselves with plunder, the Scots prepared to retreat as rapidly as they had advanced, and had marched as far as Newcastle on their return, when Douglas and his brave companions in arms resolved to halt two days before its ramparts, and dare the defenders to come forth and do their worst. This defiance, which breathed the full spirit of chivalry, was not likely to reach the Hotspur's ears in vain; the gates and sally-ports of Newcastle were thrown open, and numerous bands of the English rushed out, headed by their far famed leader, while the skirmishes that extended over the two days were both frequent and desperate. At length, in one of these encounters, Douglas and Hotspur met front to front, and between these two, each reckoned the bravest of his country,

a hand-to-hand combat ensued, such as the wars of Scotland and England had seldom witnessed. In the furious close of the joust, Hotspur was unhorsed, and but for the rescue that interposed, would have been taken prisoner; while Douglas, seizing the lance of his fallen antagonist, with its silken embroidered pennon attached to it, waved it aloft in triumph, and exclaimed in the hearing of both armies, "I will bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith!" "That shalt thou never do," cried Percy in return; "you may be sure you shall not pass the bounds of this country till you be met with in such wise, that you shall make no vaunting thereof." "Well, sir," replied the Douglas, "come then this night to my encampment, and there seek for your pennon." Thus ended their ominous conference.

After a challenge so given and received, a conflict was inevitable, and Douglas, in continuing his retreat, marched in order of battle, and ready for any sudden onslaught of the enemy. At length the Scots reached the castle and village of Otterburn, about twenty-eight miles from Newcastle, on the second day of their march, and would have continued their progress into Scotland unmolested, but for the earnest entreaties of Earl Douglas, who besought them to stay a few days there, to give Hotspur an opportunity of redeeming his pennon. To this they consented, and chose their ground with considerable military skill, having their encampment defended in front and on one side by a marsh, and on the other by a hill. They had not long to wait. Burning with eagerness to recover his lost pennon and retrieve his tarnished honour, and learning at length that the small force under the Earl of Douglas was unsupported by the army, Hotspur left Newcastle after dinner, and commenced a rapid march in pursuit of the Scots. By waiting a little longer for the Bishop of Durham, who was hastening to his assistance, his army might have been doubled, and his success insured; but as it was, he greatly outnumbered his opponents, as he was followed by eight thousand foot and six hundred lances. In the evening he reached the encampment of the Scots, who, after a day of weary siege against the castle of Otterburn, had betaken themselves to rest, but were roused by the cry of "A Percy! a Percy!" that announced the coming foe. They instantly sprang to their feet, and betook themselves to their weapons. But without giving further time, the English commenced with an impetuous onset upon the front of the Scottish army, drawn up behind the marsh; through which, wearied with a hasty pursuit, they were obliged to flounder as they best could. And now it was that the admirable generalship of Douglas, in selecting and fortifying his encampment, was fully apparent. The front ranks thus assailed, and who bore the first brunt of the battle, were not regular soldiers, but sutlers and camp followers, placed in charge of the plundered horses and cattle, and whose position was strongly fortified with the carriages and waggons that were laden with English spoil. Although only armed with knives and clubs, these men, sheltered by their strong defences, made such a stubborn resistance as kept the enemy for a time at bay, and still farther confirmed them in the delusion that the whole Scottish force was now in action.

Not a moment of the precious interval thus afforded was lost by the Earl of Douglas. At the first alarm he started from supper, where he and his knights sat in their gowns and doublets, and armed in such haste that his armour was unclasped in many places. The regular troops were encamped upon firm ground behind the marsh; and these he suddenly drew up, and silently marched round the small wooded hill that flanked their position, so that when the English had

forced the barrier of waggons, and believed that all was now their own, they were astounded at the apparition of the whole Scottish army advancing upon them from an unexpected quarter, with the honoured Douglas banner of the crowned heart floating over its head. They had thus been wasting their valour upon the scum of the invaders, and the real battle was still to be fought and won! Furious with disappointment, Hotspur drew up his men in new order for the coming onset. Even yet he might be the victor, for his soldiers not only outnumbered the enemy by three to one, but were equal in discipline, and superior in military equipments. It seemed inevitable that the banner of the crowned heart must be thrown down and trodden in the dust, unless the skilful head and mighty arm of its lord could maintain its honours against such a fearful disparity. The combatants closed by the light of an autumnal moon, that shone with an uncertain glimmer upon their mail, and half revealed their movements, as they shifted to and fro in the struggle of life and death. Thus they continued hour after hour, while neither party thought of yielding, although the ground was slippery with blood, and covered with the dead and dying—each closed in deadly grapple with his antagonist, that he might make his stroke more sure in the dim changeful moonlight. At length there appeared a wavering among the Scots; they reeled, and began to give back before the weight of superior numbers, when Douglas, finding that he must set his life upon a cast, prepared himself for a final personal effort. He ordered his banner to be advanced, and brandishing in both hands a heavy battle-axe, such as few men could wield, he shouted his war-cry of "A Douglas!" and rushed into the thickest of the press. At every stroke an enemy went down, and a lane was cleared before his onset; but his ardour carried him so far in advance, that he soon found himself unsupported, and three spears bore him to the earth, each inflicting a mortal wound. Some time elapsed before his gallant companions could overtake his onward career. At length the Earl of March, with his brother of Moray, who had entered battle with such haste that he had fought all night without his helmet, and Sir James Lindsay, one of the most stalwart of Scottish knights, cleared their way to the spot, where they found their brave commander dying, while none was beside him but William Lundie, his chaplain, a soldier priest, who had followed his steps through the whole conflict, and now stood ready, lance in hand, beside his master, to defend him in his last moments. Lindsay was the first who recognized the dying Douglas, and stooping down, he asked him how he fared. "But indifferently," replied the earl; "but blessed be God, most of my ancestors have died on fields of battle, and not on beds of down. There is a prophecy in our house, that a dead Douglas shall win a field, and I think that this night it will be accomplished. Conceal my death, raise my banner, shout my war-cry, and revenge my fall." With these words he expired.

In obedience to the dying injunctions of Douglas, his companions concealed the body among the tall fern that grew beside it, raised aloft his standard that was reeling amidst the conflict, and shouted the Douglas war-cry, as if he was still at their head; while the English, who knew that some mighty champion had lately fallen, but were ignorant that it was the Scottish leader, gave back in turn at the sound of his dreaded name. The Scots, who also believed that he was still alive, seconded the fresh onset of their leaders, and advanced with such renewed courage, that the English were at last routed, driven from the field, and dispersed, after their bravest had fallen, or been taken prisoners.

Among the last was Hotspur himself, who had fought through the whole affray with his wonted prowess; Sir Ralph, his brother, who was grievously wounded; the seneschal of York, the captain of Berwick, and several English knights and gentlemen, who were esteemed the choice of their border chivalry.

Such was the battle of Otterburn, fought in the month of August, and in the year 1388. The loss of the English attests the pertinacity of the engagement, for they had eighteen hundred killed, about a thousand wounded, and as many taken prisoners. Such a victory also evinces, more than the most laboured eulogium, the high military skill of the Earl of Douglas, so that, had he lived, his renown might have worthily taken a place by the side of the hero of Bannockburn. But he died while still young, and achieved the victory even when dead by the terror of his name—a different fate from that of his gallant rival, Henry Percy, who was first a traitor to Richard II., his natural sovereign, and afterwards to Henry IV., a usurper, whom he had mainly contributed to elevate to the throne, and who finally died a proclaimed rebel on the field of Shrewsbury, amidst disaster and defeat. On the day after the engagement, the bishop of Durham, whose movements had been anticipated by the impetuosity of Hotspur, arrived upon the field, at the head of ten thousand horse, and a large array of foot—an army sufficient, as it seemed, to trample down the victors at a single charge. But the spirit of Douglas was still among his followers, so that under the command of Moray, they drew up in their former position, and showed themselves as ready for a second combat as they had been for the first; and the bishop, daunted by their bold appearance, drew off his forces, and retired without a blow. The Scots then resumed their route homeward unmolested; but instead of a joyful triumphal march, as it might well have been after such a victory, it was rather a sad and slow funeral procession, in the centre of which was a car that conveyed the body of their hero to the burial-place of his illustrious ancestors. It is not often thus that a soldier's love and sympathy so overwhelm a soldier's pride, in the full flush of his success. The funeral was performed with pompous military honours in the Abbey of Melrose, while the epitaph of the departed was indelibly engraven in the hearts of his countrymen and the page of Scottish history.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM.—William Douglas, knight of Liddesdale, otherwise well known in Scottish history by the title of the Flower of Chivalry, has been reckoned, on the authority of John de Fordun, to have been a natural son of Sir James Douglas, the companion in arms of Robert Bruce, and as such he is generally mentioned by our Scottish historians. Others, however, make him out to have been lawful son of Sir James Douglas of Loudon. It is in vain to inquire into the date of birth, or early life of the distinguished personages of this period, as the first notice we generally receive of them is in some historic action, when they had attained the age of manhood. Sir William became possessor of the lands of Liddesdale, through marriage with Margaret Graham, daughter of Sir John Graham, lord of Abercorn. His first military exploit was the surprise and discomfiture of John Baliol at Annan, after the battle of Dupplin. On this occasion, the knight of Liddesdale marched under the banner of Andrew Murray, Earl of Bothwell; and so successful was the small band of Scottish patriots, that the adherents of the usurper were completely routed by a sudden night attack, Baliol himself escaping with difficulty, and more than half-naked, upon an unsaddled and unbridled horse, into England. In the following year (1333) Sir William was not so fortunate. Having been appointed

warden of the west marches, in consequence of his able conduct in the surprise at Annan, his district was soon invaded by the English, under Sir Anthony de Lucy; and in a battle which ensued near Lochmaben, towards the end of March, Douglas was taken prisoner, and carried to Edward III., by whose command he was put in irons, and imprisoned for two years. During this interval the battle of Halidon Hill occurred, in which the Scots were defeated with great slaughter, and their country again subdued. But in 1335, the knight of Liddesdale was set free, on payment of a heavy ransom; and on returning to Scotland, he was one of the nobles who sat in the parliament held at Dairsie, near Cupar-Fife, in the same year. He had not long been at liberty when a full opportunity occurred of vindicating the liberties of his country, and the rightful sovereignty of his young king, now a minor, and living in France. Count Guy of Namur having crossed the sea to aid the English, invaded Scotland with a considerable body of his foreign men-at-arms, and advanced as far as Edinburgh, the castle of which was at that time dismantled. A furious conflict commenced between these new invaders and the Scots on the Boroughmuir, in which the latter were on the point of being worsted, when the knight of Liddesdale opportunely came down from the Pentlands with a reinforcement, and defeated the enemy, who retired for shelter to the ruins of the castle, where they slew their horses, and made a rampart of their dead bodies. But hunger and thirst at last compelled these brave foreigners to capitulate, and they were generously allowed to return to England unmolested, on condition of serving no longer in a Scottish invasion.

This successful skirmish was followed by several others, in which the knight of Liddesdale took an important share. He then passed over into Fife, and took in succession the castles of St. Andrews, Falkland, and Leuchars, that held out for the English. After this he returned to Lothian, and betook himself to his favourite haunts of the Pentlands, thence to sally out against the English as occasion offered. The chief object of his solicitude was Edinburgh Castle, which he was eager to wrest from the enemy. On one of these occasions, learning that the English soldiers in the town had become confident and careless, he at night suddenly rushed down upon them from his fastnesses, and slew 400 of their number while they were stupified with sleep and drunkenness. It was to a warfare in detail of this description that the Scots invariably betook themselves when the enemy were in too great force to be encountered in a general action; and it was by such skirmishes that they generally recovered their national freedom, even when their cause seemed to be at the worst. After this, by a series of daring enterprises, William Douglas recovered Teviotdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale from the English. These successes so raised his reputation, that Henry, earl of Derby, who was appointed to the command of the English troops in Scotland, was eager to try his valour in single combat with the bold insurgent. They accordingly encountered on horseback at Berwick, but at the first career, Douglas was so severely wounded in the hand by accident with his own lance, that the combat had to be stayed. Soon after, the knight of Liddesdale, in an encounter with Sir Thomas Barclay, was worsted, with the loss of all his followers except three, himself escaping with difficulty through the darkness of the night. But this mischance he soon retrieved by a series of skirmishes, in which, with greatly inferior numbers, he routed the English, and shook their possession of Scotland. But his most remarkable exploit of this nature was a desperate encounter, or rather series of encounters, which he had in the course

of one day with Sir Laurence Abernethy, a leader of the party of Baliol. On this occasion Sir William Douglas was four times defeated; but with unconquerable pertinacity he still returned to the charge, and in the fifth was completely victorious. It was by these exploits, and especially the last, that he worthily won the title of the "Flower of Chivalry." After this he was sent by the High Steward, now governor of Scotland, to France, to communicate the state of affairs to his young sovereign, David, and obtain assistance from the French king. In this mission he was so successful, that he soon returned with a squadron of five French ships of war, that sailed up the Tay to aid the Steward, at this time employed in the siege of Perth, which was held by the English. Sir William joined the besiegers, but was wounded in the leg by a javelin discharged from a springald, and unfitted for a time for further action. So opportune, however, was his arrival with the reinforcement, that the Scots, who were about to abandon the siege, resumed it with fresh vigour, and Perth was soon after taken.

The cause of Baliol was now at so low an ebb, and the country so cleared of the enemy, that little remained in their possession except the castle of Edinburgh, from which the knight of Liddesdale was eager to expel them. But the garrison were so numerous, and the defences so strong, that an open siege was hopeless, and he therefore had recourse to stratagem. He prevailed upon a merchant sea-captain of Dundee, named Walter Curry, to bring his ship round to the Forth, and pretend to be an Englishman pursued by the Scots, and desirous of the protection of the castle, offering at the same time to supply the garrison with provisions. The stratagem succeeded. The commander of the castle bespoke a cargo of victuals on the following morning, and Douglas, who was lurking in the neighbourhood, at the head of 200 followers, at this intelligence disguised himself and twelve of his men with the gray frocks of the mariners thrown over their armour, and joined the convoy of Curry. The gates were opened, and the draw-bridge lowered to give entrance to the waggons and their pretended drivers; but as soon as they came under the gateway, they stabbed the warder, and blew a horn to summon the rest of their party to the spot. Before these could arrive, the cry of treason rang through the castle, and brought the governor and his soldiers upon the daring assailants, who would soon have been overpowered, but for their gallant defence in the narrow gateway, while they had taken the precaution so to arrange the waggons that the portcullis could not be lowered. In the meantime, the followers of Douglas rushed up the castle hill, and entered the conflict, which they maintained with such vigour, that the whole garrison were put to the sword, except Limosin, the governor, and six squires, who escaped. After this important acquisition, the knight of Liddesdale placed the castle under the command of Archibald Douglas, one of his relatives.

Scotland was thus completely freed from the enemy, and the people were impatient for the return of their king from France, to which country he had been sent in boyhood, during the ascendancy of the Baliol faction. Accordingly, David II., now in his eighteenth year, landed at Innerbervie on the 4th of June, 1341, and was received with rapture by his subjects, who recognized in him the pledge of their national freedom, as well as the son of their "good king Robert." But this feeling was soon damped by the difficulties of the young sovereign's position, as well as the indiscretions of his government. As for the knight of Liddesdale, he, like his compatriots, had so long been accustomed to independent military command during the interregnum, that he was unwilling to sub-

mit to royal authority when it opposed his own personal interests; and of this he soon gave a fatal proof, in the foul murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsie, as brave a leader and a better man than himself, because the latter was appointed keeper of Roxburgh Castle, and sheriff of Teviotdale, offices which Douglas thought should have been conferred upon himself, as he had recovered these places from the enemy with much toil and hazard. The particulars of this revolting atrocity are too well known, both from history and popular tradition, to require a further account. It is enough to state that after such a deed—as cowardly as it was cruel, even according to the principles of chivalry itself—the knight of Liddesdale continued to be entitled, as well as esteemed, the “Flower of Chivalry;” and that David II., so far from being able to punish the murderer, was obliged to invest him with the office for the sake of which the crime had been committed.

After this action, and during the short interval of peace that continued between England and Scotland, the character of Sir William Douglas, hitherto so distinguished for patriotism, appears to have become very questionable. This has been ascertained from the fact, that Edward III. was already tampering with him to forsake the Scottish, and join the English interests, and for this purpose had appointed Henry de Percy, Maurice de Berkeley, and Thomas de Lacy “his commissioners,” as their missive fully expressed it, “with full powers to treat of, and conclude a treaty with William Douglas, to receive him into our faith, peace, and amity, and to secure him in a reward.” Such a negotiation could scarcely have been thought of, unless Douglas, even already had been exhibiting symptoms of most unpatriotic wavering. He held several meetings, not only with these commissioners, but also with Baliol himself, and appears to have fully acceded to their proposals, and agreed to accept the wages of the English king. But whether the promised advantages were too uncertain, or the risk of such a change of principle too great, the treaty was abruptly broken off; and Douglas, as if to quell all suspicion, made a furious inroad, at the head of a large force, across the English border, although the truce between the two countries still continued; burnt Carlisle and Penrith; and after a skirmish with the English, in which the bishop of Carlisle was unhorsed, he retreated hastily into Scotland. By this act the truce was at an end, and David II., believing the opportunity to be favourable for a great English invasion, as Edward III. with the flower of his army was now in France, assembled a numerous army, with which he advanced to the English border, and took the castle of Liddel after a six days’ siege. It was now that the knight of Liddesdale counselled a retreat. His experience had taught him the strength of the English northern counties, and the warlike character of their barons, and perhaps he had seen enough of the military character of David to question his fitness for such a difficult enterprise. But his advice was received both by king and nobles with indignation and scorn. “Must we only fight for *your* gain?” they fiercely replied; “you have filled your own coffers with English gold, and secured your own lands by our valour, and now you would restrain us from our share in the plunder?” They added, that England was now emptied of its best defenders, so that nothing stood between them and a march even to London itself, but cowardly priests and base hinds and mechanics. Thus, even already, the moral influence of William Douglas was gone, the patriotic character of his past achievements went for nothing, and he was obliged to follow in a career where he had no leading voice, and for which he could anticipate nothing but defeat and disaster.

The Scottish army continued its inroad of merciless desolation and plunder until it came near Durham, when it encamped at a place which Fordun calls *Beau-repair*, but is now well known by the name of Bear Park. It was as ill-chosen as any locality could have been for such a purpose; for the Scottish troops, that depended so much upon unity of action for success, were divided into irregular unconnected masses by the hedges and ditches with which the ground was intersected, so that they resembled sheep inclosed within hurdles, ready for selection and slaughter; while the ground surrounding their encampment was so undulating that an enemy could approach them before they were aware. And that enemy, without their knowing it, was now within six miles of their encampment. The English barons had bestirred themselves so effectually that they were at the head of a numerous force, and ready to meet the invaders on equal terms. On the morning of the day on which the battle occurred, the knight of Liddesdale, still fearing the worst, rode out at the head of a strong body of cavalry, to ascertain the whereabouts of the English, and procure forage and provisions; but he had not rode far when he unexpectedly found himself in front of their whole army. He was instantly assailed by overwhelming multitudes, and, after a fierce resistance, compelled to flee, after losing 500 men-at-arms; while the first intelligence which the Scots received of the enemy's approach was from the return of Douglas on the spur, with the few survivors, who leaped the inclosures, and their pursuers, who drew bridle, and waited the coming of their main body. Into the particulars of the fatal conflict that followed, commonly called the battle of Durham, which was fought on the 17th of October, 1346, it is not our purpose at present to enter: it was to the Scots a mournful but fitting conclusion to an attempt rashly undertaken, and wise counsels scornfully rejected. Fifteen thousand of their soldiers fell; their king, and the chief of their knights and nobles, were taken prisoners; and among the latter was Sir William Douglas, who, along with the Earl of Moray, had commanded the right wing. He was again to become the inmate of an English prison! The capture of such an enemy, also, was reckoned so important, that Robert de Bertram, the soldier who took him prisoner, obtained a pension of 200 marks to him and his heirs, until the king, now absent in France, should provide him in lands of equal value.

The history of a prisoner is commonly a blank; but to this the captivity of Douglas forms an exception. He was still able to nurse his feuds and wreak his resentments, and of this Sir David Berkeley soon had fatal experience. This man, who had assassinated Sir John Douglas, brother of the knight of Liddesdale, was himself assassinated by Sir John St. Michael, purchased, as was alleged, to commit this deed by Sir William himself. This occurred in 1350, after the latter had been in prison nearly four years. In the meantime, Edward III. being in want of money for the prosecution of his French wars, endeavoured to recruit his empty coffers by the ransom of the prisoners taken at the battle of Durham, so that many of the Scottish nobles were enabled to return to their homes; but from this favour the knight of Liddesdale was excepted. The king of England knew his high military renown and influence in Scotland; and it is probable that upon these qualities, combined with the knight's unscrupulous moral character, he depended greatly for the furtherance of a scheme which he had now at heart. This was the possession of Scotland, not, however, by conquest, which had been already tried in vain, or through the vice-royalty of Baliol, who was now thrown aside as a worthless instrument, but through the volun-

tary consent and cession of king David himself. David was a childless man; he was weary of his captivity, and ready to purchase liberty on any terms; and the High Steward of Scotland, who had been appointed his successor by the Scottish Parliament, failing heirs of his own body, had shown little anxiety for the liberation of his captive sovereign. On these several accounts David was easily induced to enter into the purposes of the English king. The knight of Liddesdale was also persuaded to purchase his liberty upon similar terms; and thus Scotland had for its betrayers its own king and the bravest of its champions. The conditions into which Douglas entered with Edward III. in this singular treaty were the following:—He bound himself and his heirs to serve the king of England in all wars whatever, except against his own nation; with the proviso annexed, that he might renounce, if he pleased, the benefit of this exception: That he should furnish ten men-at-arms and ten light horsemen, for three months, at his own charges: That, should the French or other foreigners join the Scots, or the Scots join the French or other foreigners in invading England, he should do his utmost to annoy all the invaders "except the Scots:" That he should not openly, or in secret, give counsel or aid against the king of England or his heirs, in behalf of his own nation or of any others: That the English should do no hurt to his lands or his people, and his people do no hurt to the English, except in self-defence: That he should permit the English at all times to pass through his lands without molestation: That he should renounce all claim to the castle of Liddel: and that should the English, or the men of the estates of the knight of Liddesdale, injure each other, by firing houses or stack-yards, plundering, or committing any such offences, the treaty should not thereby be annulled; but that the parties now contracting should forthwith cause the damage to be mutually liquidated and repaired. To these strange terms Douglas was to subscribe by oath for their exact fulfilment, on pain of being held a disloyal and perjured man and a false liar (what else did such a treaty make him?); and that he should give his daughter and his nearest male heir as hostages, to remain in the custody of the king of England for two years. In return for all this he was to be released from captivity, and to have a grant of the territory of Liddesdale, Hermitage Castle, and certain lands in the interior of Annandale.

Sir William, having obtained his liberty at such a shameful price, returned to Scotland, and attempted to put his treasonable designs in execution. But during his absence another William Douglas had taken his place in influence and estimation. This was the nephew of the good Sir James, also his own god-son, who, having been bred to arms in the wars in France, had returned to Scotland, and assumed his place as the head of the Douglasses, a position which his valour was well fitted to maintain, for he quickly drove the English from Douglasdale, Ettrick Forest, and Teviotdale. To him the knight of Liddesdale applied, in the hope of winning him over to the cause of Edward; but this nobleman not only rejected the base proposal, but, being made thus aware of the treachery on foot, assembled his vassals, broke into Galloway, and compelled the barons of that wild district to renounce the cause of England, and return to their rightful allegiance. Soon after, Annandale, which the treacherous knight had designed to make the head-quarters of his perfidious movements, was overrun and occupied by the High Steward and his son. Thus Sir William was foiled at every point, and that chiefly through the agency of his own god-son, whom he therefore hated with a deadly hatred. These failures were soon closed by a deadly termination. One day, while the knight of Liddesdale was hunting in

the depths of Ettrick Forest, he was set upon and slain at a place called Galford, by a band of armed men employed for that purpose by Lord William himself. The causes of such a deed—which in the estimation of the church was nothing less than spiritual parricide, on account of the religious relationship of the parties—can scarcely be found in the contending interests of the rivals, and the mutual injuries that had passed between them; and therefore it was alleged that the “Flower of Chivalry,” whose morals were those of too many knights of the period, had seduced the affections of Lord William’s wife, and was thus required for his crime. Such was the report of the time, and Fordun has quoted the following verse from an ancient ballad upon the subject:—

“The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there did she call,
‘It is for the lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears down fall.’”

The body, on being found, was carried to Linden Kirk, a chapel in Ettrick Forest, and afterwards interred in Melrose Abbey. But by his murder of Ramsay, as well as his subsequent treason, Sir William Douglas had obliterated the recollection of his great and gallant deeds, so that he died unregretted, and was soon forgot.

DOUGLAS, SIR WILLIAM, was the illegitimate son of Sir Archibald, lord of Galloway, commonly called the Black Douglas; but in those days the bend sinister upon the shield of one who was otherwise a good knight and true, was not attended with the opprobrium that branded it in earlier or later periods. Of all the heroes of the illustrious house from which he sprung, Sir William appears to have been the most amiable; while in deeds of arms, although his career was cut short at an early period, he equalled the greatest of his name. His personal advantages, in an age when these were of highest account, corresponded with his reputation; for he was not only of a beautiful countenance, but a tall, commanding form; while his strength was such that few could cope with him on equal terms. His manners also were so gentle and engaging, that he was as much the delight of his friends as he was the terror of his enemies.* He was a young warrior, in short, whom Homer would have selected as his hero, or early Greece have exalted into a demigod. As his career was to be so brief, it was early commenced; for we find, that while still very young, he was distinguished not only by his personal feats of valour, but his abilities as a leader, so that in his many skirmishes with the English he was generally successful, even when the latter were greatly superior in numbers. Nor were the charms of romance wanting to complete his history. Robert II., his sovereign, had a beautiful daughter, called Egidia, who was sought in marriage not only by the noblest of her father’s court, but by the king of France, who, in the true fashion of chivalry, had fallen in love with her from the descriptions of his knights that had visited Scotland as auxiliaries, and who privately sent a painter thither, that he might obtain her picture. But to the highest nobility, and even to royalty itself, Egidia preferred the landless and illegitimate, but

* John de Fordun thus sums up his qualities, both corporeal and mental:—“*Hic homo niger colore; non multum carnosus, sed ossosus; forma giganteus, erectus et procerus, strenuus et affabilis, dulcis et amabilis, liberalis et lætus, fidus et facetus.*” The fidelity of this description may be relied upon, from the fact that de Fordun speaks of Sir William as one of his contemporaries.

brave, good, and attractive Sir William Douglas, who had no inheritance but his sword. It was wonderful that in such a case the course of true love should have run smooth: but so it did. Robert II. approved of her affection, and gave her hand to the young knight, with the fair lordship of Nithsdale for her dowry.

Sir William was not permitted to rest long in peace with a beautiful princess for his bride; for the piracies of the Irish upon the coast of Galloway, in the neighbourhood of his new possession, summoned him to arms. Resolved to chastise the pirates upon their own territory, and in their own strongholds, he mustered a force of five hundred lances and their military attendants, crossed the Irish sea, and made a descent upon the coast in the neighbourhood of the town of Carlingford. Being unable to procure boats for the landing of his small army simultaneously, he advanced with a part of it, and made a bold assault upon the outworks of the town. Struck with terror, the inhabitants, even though their ramparts were still unscaled, made proposals for a treaty of surrender; and to obtain sufficient time to draw up the terms, they promised a large sum of money. Sir William Douglas received their envoys with courtesy, and trusting to their good faith in keeping the armistice, he sent out 200 of his soldiers, under the command of Robert Stuart, laird of Durriesdeer, to bring provisions to his ships. But it was a hollow truce on the part of the men of Carlingford, for they sent by night a messenger to Dundalk, where the English were in greatest force, representing the small number of the Scots, and the ease with which they might be overpowered. Five hundred English horse rode out of Dundalk at the welcome tidings, and came down unexpectedly upon the Scots, while the men of Carlingford sallied from their gates in great numbers, to aid in trampling down their enemies, who in the faith of the truce were employed in lading their vessels. But Douglas instantly drew up his small band into an impenetrable phalanx; their long spears threw off the attacks of the cavalry; and notwithstanding their immense superiority, the enemy were completely routed, and driven off the field. For this breach of treaty the town of Carlingford was burnt to the ground, and fifteen merchant ships, laden with goods, that lay at anchor in the harbour, were seized by the Scots. On returning homeward, Douglas landed on the Isle of Man, which he ravaged, and after this his little armament, enriched with spoil, anchored safely in Loch Ryan, in Galloway.

As soon as he had stepped on shore, Sir William heard, for the first time, of the extensive inroad that had commenced upon the English border in 1333, which ended in the victory of Otterburn; and eager for fresh honour, instead of returning home, he rode to the Scottish encampment, accompanied by a band of his bravest followers. In the division of the army that was made for the purpose of a double invasion, Sir William was retained with that part of it which was destined for the invasion of England by the way of Carlisle, and thus he had not the good fortune to accompany James, Earl of Douglas, in his daring inroad upon Durham. After the battle of Otterburn, an interval of peace between England and Scotland succeeded, of which Sir William was soon weary; and, impatient for military action, he turned his attention to the continent, where he found a congenial sphere of occupation. Of late years, the mingled heroism and devotion of the crusading spirit, which had lost its footing in Syria, endeavoured to find occupation in the extirpation or conversion of the idolaters of Europe; and the Teutonic knights, the successors of the gallant Templars, had already

become renowned and powerful by their victories in Prussia and Lithuania, whose inhabitants were still benighted pagans. Sir William resolved to become a soldier in what he doubtless considered a holy war, and enlist under the banner of the Teutonic order. He accordingly set sail, and landed at Dantzic, which was now the head-quarters and capital of these military monks. It appears, from the history of the period, that the order at present was filled with bold adventurers from every quarter of Europe; but, among these, the deeds of the young lord of Nithsdale were soon so pre-eminent, that he was appointed to the important charge of admiral of the fleet—an office that placed him in rank and importance nearest to the grand-master of the order. Two hundred and forty ships, such as war-ships then were, sailed under his command—an important fact, which Fordun is careful to specify. But even already the career of Sir William was about to terminate, and that too by an event which made it matter of regret that he had not fallen in his own country upon some well-fought field. Among the adventurers from England who had come to the aid of the Teutonic knights, was a certain Lord Clifford, whose national jealousy had taken such umbrage at the honours conferred upon the illustrious Scot, that he first insulted, and then challenged him to single combat. The day and place were appointed with the usual formalities; and as such a conflict must be at *ostrance*, Sir William repaired to France to procure good armour against the approaching trial. His adversary then took advantage of this absence to calumniate him as a coward who had deserted the appointment; but hearing this rumour, Sir William hastily returned to Dantzic, and presented himself before the set day. It was now Clifford's turn to tremble. He dreaded an encounter with such a redoubted antagonist; and to avoid it, he hired a band of assassins, by whom Sir William was basely murdered. This event must have happened somewhere about the year 1390-1. In this way Sir William Douglas, like a gigantic shadow, appears, passes, and vanishes, and fills but a brief page of that history which he might have so greatly amplified and so brightly adorned. At his death he left but one child, a daughter, by the Princess Egidia, who, on attaining maturity, was married to William, Earl of Orkney.

DRUMMOND, CAPTAIN THOMAS.—Among the many distinguished engineers of whom Scotland has been so prolific in the present age, the subject of this notice will always hold a conspicuous place. He was born at Edinburgh, in October, 1797, and was the second of three sons; and being deprived of his father while still in infancy, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, who discharged her duty in that respect so effectually that the Captain ever afterwards spoke of her with affectionate gratitude, and attributed much of his professional success to her careful and efficient training. After having undergone the usual course of a classical education at the High School of Edinburgh, he was entered at Woolwich as a cadet in 1813; and such was the persevering energy and diligence with which his home-training had inspired him, that he soon distanced his school-fellows, and passed through the successive steps of the military college with a rapidity altogether unusual in that institution. It was not in mathematics alone, also, that he excelled, but in every other department of science to which he turned his attention; for such was his intellectual tenacity and power of application, that he never relinquished a subject until he had completely mastered it. Of this he once afforded a striking proof while still in one of the junior academies of the college. Not being satisfied with a difficult demonstration in conic sections contained in Hutton's "Course of Mathematics,"

which formed the text-book of the class, young Drummond sought and discovered a solution of a more simple character, and on a wholly original principle. Such was the merit of this bold innovation, that it replaced the solution of Hutton among the professors of Woolwich College, who were proud of their young pupil, and entertained the highest hopes of his future success as a military engineer. The same reflective independent spirit characterized his studies after he had left Woolwich to follow out the practical instruction of his profession. On one occasion his attention was directed to the various inventions by which the use of the old pontoon was to be superseded; and he contrived a model, which was reckoned a master-piece of ingenuity. It was, says his friend Captain Dawson, who describes it, "like a man-of-war's gig or galley, sharp at both ends, and cut transversely into sections, for facility of transport, as well as to prevent it from sinking if injured in any one part; each section was perfect in itself, and they admitted of being bolted together, the partitions falling under the thwarts or seats. The dockyard men, to whom he showed it, said it would row better than any boat except a gig; and it was light, and capable of being transported from place to place on horseback."

After having spent some time in training, both at Plymouth and Chatham, during which he embraced every opportunity of improving his professional knowledge, not only by books and the conversation of intelligent officers and scientific scholars, but also by a visit to France, to study its army of occupation and witness a great military review, Drummond was stationed at Edinburgh, where his charge consisted in the superintendence and repair of public works. But this sphere was too limited for his active spirit; and, finding little prospect of advancement in his profession, he had serious thoughts of abandoning it for the bar, and had actually enrolled his name as a student at Lincoln's Inn, when fortunately, in the autumn of 1819, he met in Edinburgh with Colonel Colby, at that time engaged in the trigonometrical survey of the Highlands. Delighted to have such an associate in his labours, the colonel soon induced the disappointed engineer to abandon all further thoughts of the study of law, and join him in the survey. As these new duties required Drummond to reside in London during the winter, he availed himself of the opportunity not only to improve himself in the higher departments of mathematics, but also to study the science of chemistry, which he did with his wonted energy and success. While attending, for this purpose, the lectures of Professors Faraday and Brande, his attention was called to the subject of the incandescence of lime; and conceiving that this might be made available for his own profession, he purchased, on his return from the lecture-room, a blow-pipe, charcoal, and other necessary apparatus, and commenced his course of experiments. These were prosecuted evening after evening, until he had attained the desired result. He found that the light derived from the prepared lime was more brilliant than that of the Argand lamp; and that it concentrated the rays more closely towards the focal point of the parabolic mirror, by which they were reflected in close parallel rays, instead of a few near the focus, as was the case with the Argands.

An opportunity was soon given to test this important discovery. In 1824, Colonel Colby was appointed to make a survey of Ireland, and took with him Lieutenant Drummond as his principal assistant. The misty atmosphere of Ireland made this survey a work of peculiar difficulty, as distant objects would often be imperceptibly seen under the old system of lighting; but the Colonel was also aware of the improved lamp which Drummond had invented, and

sanguine as to its results. His hopes were justified by a striking experiment. A station called Slieve Snaught, in Donegal, had long been looked for in vain from Davis' Mountain, near Belfast, about sixty-six miles distant, with the haze of Lough Neagh lying between. To overcome this difficulty, Drummond repaired to Slieve Snaught, accompanied by a small party, and taking with him one of his lamps. The night on which the experiment was made was dark but cloudless, and the mountain covered with snow, when the shivering surveyors left their cold encampment to make the decisive trial. The hour had been fixed, and an Argand lamp had been placed on an intermediate church tower, to telegraph the appearance of the light on Slieve Snaught to those on Davis' Mountain. The hour had past, and the sentry was about to leave his post, when the light suddenly burst out like a brilliant star from the top of the hitherto invisible peak, to the delight of the astonished spectators, who were watching with intense anxiety from the other station of survey. Another invention of almost equal importance with the Drummond's light was his heliostat, by which the difficulty arising from the rapid motion of the earth in its orbit round the sun, was obviated by the most simple means, and the work of survey made no longer dependent upon a complicated apparatus that required frequent shifting and removal; so that, while it could take observations at the distance of a hundred miles, a single soldier was sufficient to carry and plant the instrument upon the requisite spot.

The high scientific knowledge which Drummond possessed, and the valuable services he had rendered to the Irish survey, were not lost sight of, and demands soon occurred to call him into a higher sphere of duty. These were, the preparations necessary before the passing of the Reform Bill, by laying down the boundaries to the old and the new boroughs. This very difficult task he discharged so ably, and so much to the satisfaction of the public, as to silence the murmurs of cavillers, who complained because a young lieutenant of engineers had been appointed to so important a charge. After it was finished, he returned to his work of surveying; but in the midst of it was appointed private secretary to Lord Spencer, in which office he continued till the dissolution of the government, when he was rewarded with a pension of £300 per annum, obtained for him through the interest of Lord Brougham. In 1835, he was appointed under-secretary for Ireland, where he was placed at the head of the commission on railways; but his incessant labour in this department, along with his other duties of a political nature, are supposed to have accelerated his death, which occurred April 15, 1840. His memory will continue to be affectionately cherished, not only by the distinguished statesmen with whom he acted, but by society at large; while the scientific will regret that public duties should have latterly engrossed a mind so admirably fitted for the silent walks of invention and discovery.

DUNCAN, REV. HENRY, D.D.—This excellent divine, whose life was so distinguished by active practical usefulness, was born at Lochrutton manse, on the 8th of October, 1774. His father, the Rev. George Duncan, was minister of the parish of Lochrutton, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and his grandfather had also held the same parochial charge. Indeed, both by father and mother, Henry Duncan traced his descent from a line of ministers that almost reached to the days of the Covenant, so that he was wont to compare his family to the tribe of Levi. It was not wonderful, therefore, that not only himself, but his younger brother, Thomas, should direct their choice and their studies to the

ministry. After a careful home education at the manse of Lochrutten, and subsequently a public one at the academy of Dumfries, Henry Duncan went to the university of St. Andrews in 1778. Two years after, a temporary interruption in his college studies occurred, in consequence of his near relation, Dr. Currie, the biographer of Burns, inviting him to enter a banking establishment in Liverpool, with a view to becoming a merchant. Henry, whose purposes were not as yet very definite, complied, and in 1780 exchanged the occupations of a student for those of a banker's clerk. It was a happy interruption, however, when we take into account the knowledge of the world, financial experience, and practical habits by which he was afterwards so distinguished among his classical brethren, and so useful to the church—and especially in the establishment of savings banks, by which he was so great a benefactor to society at large.

During the three years which Henry Duncan thus spent in Liverpool, his time was not wholly employed in the details of business and banking calculations. From his natural bias, talents, and previous education, he could not be happy without the enjoyments of literary exercise, and therefore he not only sought every opportunity of frequenting intellectual society, but renewed his old studies, and wrote poetry; he even went so far as to publish a theological tract, which he wrote against Unitarianism, at that time the prevalent heresy of Liverpool. It was a new feature in religious controversy for a boy of sixteen to publish his lucubrations upon such a subject, and more surprising still that the pamphlet should have been generally admired; but our wonder ceases when we are told that its principal arguments were derived from his father's letters, with whom he had corresponded on the subject. All these were significant tokens that he would not voluntarily become a banker: his choice was to be a parish minister rather than a *millionaire*; and this, too, not at the time from religious considerations, but the opportunities which he would enjoy for those literary pursuits which, in his eyes, formed the best occupation of life. After much reluctance his wishes were complied with, and he returned to Scotland in 1783, and continued his studies for five years, partly at the university of Edinburgh, and partly at that of Glasgow. Having completed the required courses, he was taken upon trial by the presbytery of Dumfries, and licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1788, after which, like many other licentiates, he betook himself to the occupation of a family tutor, until a presentation should induct him into a settled charge. The place of his sojourn on this occasion was the Highlands; and as the whole heather was in a blaze of patriotic ardour at this period, from the threat of a French invasion, the young enthusiastic preacher caught the genial spirit, and carried it so far, that besides girding himself with the usual weapons of military exercise, he assumed the Highland garb, to the great astonishment and mirth of its legitimate wearers, who had never seen theology so habited. It was as well that all this should speedily terminate, and accordingly, in 1790, not less than two presentations and one popular call offered themselves at the same period to his acceptance: these were to the parishes of Lochmaben and Ruthwell, and to a congregation of Presbyterians in Ireland. Mr. Duncan made his election in favour of Ruthwell, although it was the least tempting of the two parishes. It presented, however, what he considered of chief account—the best opportunity of a life of clerical usefulness. His standard of such a life at this period must be taken into account, and it is thus announced by his biographer:—"If the eternal welfare of

his flock occupied any considerable share in his thoughts, I fear it must be confessed that the hope of advancing these interests rested chiefly on the influence he might possess in cultivating their kind and benevolent affections, in promoting a social and friendly spirit among their families, harmonizing their differences, rousing their patriotism, and becoming their example in all that is amiable, worthy, and honourable. Such seems to have been his *beau-ideal* of a country minister's life; and if he could live to promote these purposes, he does not seem to have questioned that he should amply fulfil all the purposes of a Christian ministry."

The first act of Mr. Duncan after receiving the presentation was well fitted to endear him to the affections of his future parishioners. By law he was entitled to the crop upon the glebe, should his settlement take place before its removal, by merely paying the expenses for seed and labour. This right, however, he waived in favour of the widow and daughter of the late incumbent, allowing her in the meantime to put into the ground what crop she pleased; and, in order that she might reap it undisturbed by legal technicalities, he delayed his settlement till the 19th of September, when he was solemnly inducted into his parish at the age of twenty-five, with a pastoral charge delivered to him by the aged minister who presided, from the text, "Let no man despise thy youth." On being settled, he entered into his clerical duties, so far as he understood them, with all the warmth of his affectionate heart, and all the energy of his active spirit, visiting and catechising from house to house, in addition to his public labours on the Sabbath. But the deep ignorance, and somewhat lawless border character of his flock—for the parish lies on the shores of the Solway, and within the border district—were not the only difficulties with which he had to contend; for to these impediments were added the extreme poverty of the people, occasioned by a course of scanty harvests, while the landlords were at their wits' end, and knew not what remedy to devise. Finding that something must be done, and that speedily, Mr. Duncan, at his own risk, and through his two brothers settled in Liverpool, procured a cargo of Indian corn, which was retailed by his orders at prime cost, and in several cases, where no money could be forthcoming, upon credit. But while comfort was thus introduced into the cottages of Ruthwell, and himself the only loser, and that, also, to a considerable amount, he rejoiced in the expense and trouble he had undergone, as his plan was adopted by many, not only on that but subsequent occasions, in several famine-visited districts over the extent of Scotland. Another public case equally urgent, although of a less clerical character, in which Mr. Duncan at this time was involved, arose from the threats of an invasion of Britain, which the French government still continued to hold out. Justly conceiving it to be his duty to set an example of Christian patriotism on this occasion, and still animated with youthful ardour, he roused his parishioners to resistance, and in consequence of this, a corps called the Ruthwell Volunteers, was soon embodied, with the minister for their captain. This office, indeed, whether willing or not, it was necessary that he should accept, otherwise his parishioners would scarcely have cared to come forward. Mr. Duncan, although perhaps the first clerical captain of this period, did not long stand alone, as many of the other parishes of Scotland followed the instance of Ruthwell, so that the same voice which uttered the military commands of to-day, was often employed in the public religious ministrations of to-morrow. It was the old spirit of Drumclog and

Bothwell Bridge come back again, and no Protestant country but Scotland could perhaps have given such an example.

Thus far Mr. Duncan had gone on, beloved by his people, to whom he was a fair example of all that is dignified and amiable in the natural man, as well as zealous in the discharge of all those general duties with which his office was connected. Something more, however, was still necessary to bring him into vital contact with the spiritual life of his sacred calling, and show how much as yet was wanting in his endeavours to promote the eternal welfare of those committed to his charge. His example and his efforts, excellent though they were, had still fallen short of the mark. But in 1804 the time had come when those spiritual perceptions were to be vouchsafed to him, under which he would continue his ministerial career with new ardour and redoubled efficacy. This new light, too, under which such a happy change was to be accomplished, was neither to arise from the study of the works of the great masters of theology, nor yet from the reasonings or example of his learned co-presbyters; but from a despised people, as yet almost new in Scotland, and whose names were seldom mentioned except for purposes of ridicule and merriment. One man and two women of the society called Friends, or Quakers, had arrived at Annan, and announced their intention of holding a meeting in the evening for worship. Induced by curiosity, Mr. Duncan, who was in the town, attended the meeting, and was struck by the warmth and simplicity with which these strange preachers enunciated those Christian doctrines that had long been familiar to his mind, but to which the new style, whereby they were now embodied, imparted the charm and power of novelty. An interview with the Quakers followed, and the impression was deepened; the minister gradually began to perceive that he had something still to learn before he could become an effective Christian teacher. The lesson abode with him until, through a course of years, its fruits were ripened and matured; and ever after he was wont to revert with pleasure to this visit of the "Friends," and the benefits he had derived from them. On the same year which so powerfully influenced him for the future, he married Miss Agnes Craig, the only surviving daughter of his predecessor, in whose energy of character, refined taste, and active practical disposition, he found a mind congenial to his own in the work of life that still lay before him, and a counsellor to whom he could refer in every difficulty.

And now that the stirring enterprising mind of the minister of Ruthwell had received a new impulse, as well as a fit companion and assistant, his career was to be traced in a series of benevolent parochial plans, from which he never desisted until they were realized. Ruthwell was not only a very poor parish, but subject to periodical visits of extreme destitution; and for such a population, amounting to 1100 souls, the fund for the poor, which was collected at the church door, amounted annually to only about £25. As this constitutional poverty threatened to grow with the changes of modern living, and as Mr. Duncan dreaded the establishment of that artificial and compulsory charity called a poor's-rate, by which idleness would be encouraged and the honourable independent spirit of the poor broken down, he had set in earnest from the beginning to make them a self-supporting people. A friendly society, indeed, had been established among them so early as 1796; but from the imperfection of its plan, and the inexperience of its supporters, it had come to nothing. Undismayed by the evil omen of such a failure, and the despondency it had occasioned,

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Mr. Duncan brought the whole strength and experience of his mind to a revival of the plan under better arrangements ; and the result was, that several friendly societies were originated in Ruthwell, having 300 members independent of the "parish box," and happy with each other in their public meetings and temperate soirees. Coincident with this was Mr. Duncan's concern for the intellectual as well as physical and moral elevation of his people ; and therefore he endeavoured, by conversational lectures which he held on the Sunday evenings, to illustrate the Divine attributes, as manifested in the sciences of astronomy, physics, and history. This, however, unfortunately staggered the people, who as yet were neither prepared for such Sabbath ministrations, nor to believe that the earth turns round, and that the stars are of such prodigious magnitude. With the same purpose of elevating the lower orders, and inspiring them with the capacities as well as right feelings of industrious manly independence, he next commenced, in 1808, a serial work, of great efficacy in its day, under the title of the "Scotch Cheap Repository." This periodical, consisting of short tracts and stories, was formed upon the plan of Mrs. Hannah More's "Cheap Magazine;" and both were the precursors of penny magazines, Chambers' journals, and the other economical popular literature of the present day. In supplying the materials for his "Repository," Mr. Duncan was assisted by five of his clerical brethren, and by Miss Hamilton, the justly-famed authoress of the "Cottagers of Glenburnie;" while his own principal contribution, entitled "The Cottage Fireside, or Parish Schoolmaster," afterwards published in a separate form, was thus eulogized by that Aristarchus of modern criticism, the "Quarterly Review:"—"In point of genuine humour and pathos, we are inclined to think that it fairly merits a place by the side of the 'Cottagers of Glenburnie,' while the knowledge it displays of Scottish manners and character is more correct and more profound." Without going out of his way to seek it, Mr. Duncan's talents as an author were now so highly appreciated, that his pen was in demand both from the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia" and the "Christian Instructor"—to the former of which he supplied the articles "Blair" and "Blacklock," and to the latter several valuable contributions extending over many years. His next principal object was the establishment of a provincial newspaper, the "Weekly Journal" of Dumfries being but a poor production, while the important events of the day, and the growing wants of the public mind, if not supplied with adequate sustenance, would have only opened the way for the productions of political discontent, false philosophy, and infidelity. Aware of this danger, and eager to avail himself of the opportunities of such a season for indoctrinating the public with substantial, healthy, and purified intelligence, Mr. Duncan had recourse to his brothers in Liverpool for the pecuniary means of action, and with their aid was enabled, at the close of 1809, to start the "Dumfries and Galloway Courier," a weekly newspaper, to which, without announcing the fact, he officiated as editor for the first seven years. In this way he originated the best and most influential of all our Scottish provincial journals, and happily its reputation did not deteriorate under the able management of Mr. M'Diarmid, who, in 1817, succeeded Mr. Duncan in the editorship. All this while, the wonderful activity which the minister of Ruthwell displayed, and the amount of versatile intelligence he brought to a great variety of action, cannot be too widely known. While he was careful in all his pulpit preparations, and enriching the columns of his journal with powerful and original articles, he was conducting, as secretary, the business of the "Dumfries Auxiliary Bible

Society," which he had formed in 1810; and as president, that of the "Dumfries Missionary Society." But this was not all. He was surrounding the manse of Ruthwell with a rich picturesque garden, and so effectually cultivating his fifty acre glebe, that while a new scenery at length rose beneath his hand out of a bleak waste, his labours were the most instructive models that could have been presented to his own people and neighbourhood of what might be achieved in horticulture and agriculture, by one's own taste and industry, independent of a plentiful capital. Within the manse, too, there was no elbow-chair repose after such out-door occupation; on the contrary, it was a fit beehive for such a scenery, and resounded from morning till night with the hum of happy, active industry—for a domestic school was there, composed of a few boarders whom Mr. Duncan taught in addition to his own family, and in whose training he was the most careful, as well as most affectionate of fathers and teachers. Even if we were to combine Pope's "Man of Ross" and Goldsmith's "Country Clergyman" into one, we would still have to search for a third person, learned and able in authorship, to complete a parallel picture.

But the greatest and most important of Mr. Duncan's public labours remains still to be mentioned: this was the establishment of savings banks, by which his name will be best remembered by posterity. Mention has already been made of his desire to foster a spirit of independence among the lower orders, by cherishing the principles of provident economy through the establishment of friendly societies. In his researches, to which this attempt led, he found a paper, written by Mr. John Bone, of London, containing a plan for the abolition of poor's-rates in England; and among its complicated devices, which, for the most part, were too ingenious to be practical, the idea was thrown out of the erection of an economical bank for the savings of the working-classes. Upon this suggestion Mr. Duncan fastened; although occurring as a pendicle, it contained the real pith and marrow of the whole subject, and might be easily reduced to working operation. He drew up a plan for the establishment of savings banks throughout the country, which he published in his Dumfries journal; and, knowing that this would be regarded as a mere theory until it was verified by at least one substantial illustrative fact, he proceeded to the establishment of one of these banks in his own parish. Its working was soon sufficient to convince the most sceptical. The Ruthwell Savings Bank commenced its existence in May, 1810; and although the poverty of this parish was beyond that of most in Scotland, the deposits during a course of four years were £151, £176, £241, and £922. This success was announced, and the plan of action he had drawn up in the "Dumfries Courier" was republished in several of the leading journals of Scotland; and the natural consequence was, that savings banks, established upon the model of that of Ruthwell, were opened not only in Edinburgh, but the principal towns throughout the kingdom. It was well for such a provident scheme that it had found Scotland for its birthplace and first field of action. From Scotland the example passed into England, and afterwards into Ireland; and with what happy results, the superior economy of the industrious poor throughout the three kingdoms, and the immense amount of capital that has now accumulated, can bear full testimony. During this course of operation the honoured founder of the scheme was not forgot, chiefly, however, that he might lend his gratuitous labours to the furtherance of the good work; and for this purpose applications for counsel and suggestion poured in upon him from every quarter, the answers to which would have tasked a state-secretary and whole

staff of assistants, instead of an already overlaid country minister. But, cheered with this evidence of the success of his benevolent mission, Mr. Duncan confronted the epistolary torrent, and had an answer for every inquirer. "Happily for himself and his cause," thus writes his amiable biographer, "his readiness as a letter-writer was one of his most remarkable characteristics. Whole days, indeed, were frequently consumed in this laborious occupation; but the amount of work accomplished, while thus engaged, was indeed astonishing. This may be understood when it is remembered that, among his correspondents in a scheme so entirely new, there must have been, as there were, many desirous of minute information and special explanations; many suggesting difficulties, and demanding their solution; many persevering and insatiable letter-writers, making small allowance for the overburdened and weary individual on whom had thus at once devolved the care of a thousand infant institutions. Add to this, that the soundness of some of the principles on which he was most decided was disputed by a few of the warmest friends of the measure, and that he had to maintain on these topics a tedious controversy, not the less necessary because those with whom it was carried on were among his best friends and coadjutors." While thus engaged he also published, at the beginning of 1815, an essay "On the Nature and Advantages of Parish Banks; together with a Corrected Copy of the Rules and Regulations of the Parent Institution in Ruthwell," for which production a new and enlarged edition was in demand in the following year. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Duncan was no mere benevolent dreamer, even as a savings bank was no mere "devout imagination." He was a man of fearless daring and incessant labour, and therefore, in his hands, the theory became a great, substantial, and national reality. And well was his benevolent disinterested heart rewarded in its own best fashion. To few of those who would teach truths "to save a sinking land" is the happy lot accorded to witness these truths in full operation, and producing their happiest results.

After the general adoption of the principle of savings banks throughout the three kingdoms, from which it gradually diffused itself throughout the different countries of Europe, where it was adopted as the true "cheap defence of nations," it would have been contrary to all past experience, since the days of Triptolemus, if Mr. Duncan had been allowed to sit down as a public benefactor, and no angry wind had blown to shake the laurels that grew around him. Carping questions rose as to the fitness of his scheme either in whole or in part; and when these were satisfactorily answered, attempts were made to bereave him of the honour of its paternity. A more difficult as well as more important step was to obtain for it the advantages of legislative protection, and for this purpose he repaired to London in the spring of 1819. After much negotiation with some of the leading financiers and statesmen, whom he converted to his views, the measure was introduced, and successfully carried through parliament. "You may carry with you," said a friend to him on that occasion, "the satisfaction of knowing that the Savings Bank Bill would not have been carried except by your visit to London." During the same year, and while the political discontent of the lower orders was daily threatening to merge into French infidelity and republicanism, Mr. Duncan published his "Young South Country Weaver," a tale admirably suited to the times, as well as the classes for which it was especially written, being full of Scottish humour, and vigorous descriptions of such popular meetings and noisy demagogues as were in vogue among the rabble during this stormy period. In 1823, the degree of D.D. was con-

ferred upon him by the university of St. Andrews. In 1826, stimulated by the example of Sir Walter Scott's novels, as well as offended with the tone of the tale of "Old Mortality," in which our Presbyterian ancestors are held up to ridicule, Dr. Duncan attempted a work in the same style, but of an opposite tendency, in which he resolved to place the characters of the Covenanters in their proper light. For this purpose he wrote "William Douglas, or the Scottish Exiles," a three-volume tale, which, however excellent in its way, was by no means a match for the powerful antagonist which it attempted to confront. But *non omnia possumus omnes*; and perhaps it was not altogether fitting or desirable that the minister of Ruthwell and founder of savings banks should be as able and popular a novelist as the "author of Waverley."

In a life so active and so full of incidents as that of Dr. Duncan, it would be impossible, within our narrow limits, to give even a brief detail of his many occupations and their results. We are therefore obliged to dismiss the labours of years, filled as they were with his plans for the better instruction of the lower classes—with his attempts to avert, or at least retard, the imposition of a poor's-rate in Ruthwell, and over the country at large—and the active exertions he made in favour of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and afterwards in behalf of negro emancipation. We must even pass over his researches among the footprints of animals, which he was the first to detect in the strata of old red sandstone; by which, according to Dr. Buckland, his discovery was "one of the most curious and most important that has been ever made in geology." In all these there was abundance of literary correspondence and authorship, in which he bestirred himself with his wonted activity and success. But events were now occurring in the church of sufficient import to absorb the attention and task the utmost energies of every zealous minister, let him be of what party he might; and, under the influence of these, Dr. Duncan was summoned to abandon his favourite pursuits, and throw his whole heart into a conflict in which the very existence of the national church itself appeared to be at stake.

This controversy, which ended with the Disruption, commenced with the popular hostility towards patronage. In a mere political point of view, indeed, patronage had fully lasted its day. The people of Scotland had now become so divested of their old feudal veneration for rank and place, and withal so intelligent and inquiring, that they were no longer in the mood of implicitly submitting their spiritual guidance to any earthly patron whatever. This palpable fact, however, it was not the interest of the aristocracy to recognize, and therefore they could not see it; so that, instead of gracefully conceding a privilege which in a few years more would have been worn-out and worthless, they preferred to cling to it until it should be torn from their grasp. On the subject of patronage Dr. Duncan had meditated long and anxiously; and, being convinced that it was an evil, he joined in the great popular movement that sought its suppression. From the head-quarters of the state, also, applications were made to him for information upon the merits of the question; and this he fully transmitted successively to Lords Brougham, Melbourne, and Lansdowne. It was not, however, the entire suppression, but the modification of patronage which he sought; and, therefore, when the Veto-law was passed by the General Assembly in 1834, he hoped, in common with many of our best and wisest, that the golden mean was now attained, and a happy compromise effected between the political rights of patrons and the spiritual interests of the people.

But, like many other such flattering combinations, the Veto satisfied neither party, and a few years of trial sufficed to show that this balancing of two antagonistic claims could only aggravate as well as protract the conflict. But, whatever may have been the diversity of opinions among the evangelical portion of the Church of Scotland upon the subject of patronage, the case became very different when the civil courts interposed their authority, and thrust obnoxious presentees into the cure of souls, in defiance not only of the deprecations of the parishes thus encumbered, but the authority of ecclesiastical tribunals, to whom alone the sacred right of induction belonged. It was no longer the rights of patronage, but the existence of the Church itself that was at stake, in which every question about the fitness or unfitness of the Veto utterly disappeared. Here was a result upon which there could be no divided opinion, a common ground upon which all could take their stand; and the sentiments of Dr. Duncan upon the subject, as well as the energy of his character in such a crisis, were so well understood, that at one of the most trying periods of the controversy (the year 1839) he was elected to the important office of moderator of the General Assembly. It was there that the cases of Auchterarder and Strathbogie were brought forward, while that of Lethendy was impending, in which a presbytery, for its obedience to the highest ecclesiastical court in a case of ordination, was threatened by the civil authorities with an interdict. His duties of moderator during this trying period were discharged with that dignity, firmness, and discretion which the occasion so urgently demanded. In the following year he was subjected to a still more critical test, in consequence of his being sent, at the head of a deputation, to London, by the commission of the General Assembly, to congratulate the Queen on the occasion of her Majesty's marriage. It was thus that the Church of Scotland had been wont on former occasions to express its loyalty, and as the representatives of a national church, its deputations had always been hitherto received with royal courtesy and regard. But late events had made it be regarded in the high places of the state with dislike, and it was now suspected as tending to radicalism at least, if not to downright rebellion. To punish, therefore, if not to reclaim the offending church, it was announced to the deputation by the minister of the crown, that their address could not be received *on the throne*, as had hitherto been the custom, but at a private audience. To have yielded to this would have been to degrade the church which they represented; and Dr. Duncan therefore frankly stated to the crown minister, that the address could not be presented unless it was received with the usual tokens of respect. This firm resolution, which he expressed both in personal interviews and by written statement, prevailed, and the deputation was at last received according to the wonted ceremonial.

The proceedings of Dr. Duncan in the subsequent measures of the church, which ended in the disruption, may be easily surmised. In the most important of these he bore an active part; and when the convocation was assembled in Edinburgh, in 1842, he attended as one of the fathers of the church, and gave the benefit of his experience to its deliberations. Up to this period, when so important a change was at hand, his position was a happy one, beyond the lot of most country ministers. "His manifold blessings," his biographer writes, "had been alloyed with few painful ingredients, and his sorrows had all been singularly mingled with merciful alleviations. His family had grown up without accident or serious evil of any kind, and without a breach. His two sons had voluntarily embraced his own profession, and were settled tranquilly, with their

families, in parishes to which they had not only been presented by the lawful patrons, but been called by the unanimous voice of their people; and his only daughter had just been united to a minister of the Church of Scotland, long and intimately known to him, and whose views entirely corresponded with his own. And though thus his children were withdrawn from under his roof, to spheres in every respect so eligible, his home still exhibited its former aspect of affection and of enjoyment; while comforts and blessings seemed destined to follow him to the latest period of old age." In such a state of things, who that could avoid it would seek for a change? And what a motive must that be which could persuade a wise and good man, in the decline of life, and when a happy home is best enjoyed, to sacrifice all and begin life anew? But to this he steadily addressed himself, and accordingly, after the convocation, he began to look out for a new home, as well as a new sphere of ministerial duty. At length the season for action arrived. On the 18th of May, 1843, the General Assembly met, and on that occasion 474 ministers abandoned their livings, and departed, that they might constitute a church in conformity with those principles for which they had made the sacrifice. Dr. Duncan, who had been present on the occasion, and joined the solemn exodus, returned to Ruthwell, to gather together that portion of his flock which still adhered to him. They constituted nearly the half, though the least wealthy part of the church-going population of the parish; but their exertions, as well as their sacrifices, in behalf of the cause which they had embraced, even already consoled him for the loss both of church and manse. A new place of worship was soon erected, and as for a place of residence, this also was found in one end of a cottage, which the tenant resigned, for the occupation of himself and family. It was, indeed, a different habitation from that beautiful manse which he had so amplified, and the gardens of which he had so tastefully laid out and planted, during a residence of forty years, but the change was made in the name of Him who "had not where to lay his head."

The remainder of Dr. Duncan's career, after he left the Established Church, may be briefly told. It was that long-confirmed spirit of activity, which had become the chief element of his being, struggling as bravely as ever against new obstacles, and surmounting them, but struggling under the growing frailties of years, through which the trial must be all the more quickly ended. To such a man there could be but one resting-place, and to this his failing footsteps were rapidly hastening. It was also in harmony with his character, that the summons calling him to enter into his rest should find him in the midst of active duty, with his loins girt, and his lamp burning. After a journey into England, chiefly connected with the interests of the church and his own flock, he resumed, at his return home, the work of clerical visitation, and for this purpose had repaired to Cockpool, about two miles from Ruthwell, to preside at an evening prayer-meeting. In the course of the religious services on this occasion he read a text of Scripture, and was employed in illustrating it, when he was suddenly struck with paralysis, and after a short illness, died on the evening of the 11th of February, 1846, in the seventy-second year of his age.

Dr. Duncan was twice married; his second wife, who still survives him, having been the widow of the Rev. Mr. Lundie, of Kelso, to whom he was united in 1836. In mentioning the varied authorship of Dr. Duncan, we omitted the work on which his literary reputation will chiefly depend. This was "The Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons," in four volumes, written upon the plan of

the well-known work of Sturm, and furnishing a paper for every day in the year. Of this work several editions have already been published, and it is still in extensive demand. But the savings banks will constitute Dr. Duncan's most abiding monument, and will continue, throughout the world at large, to be connected with his name as their founder, when the best literary productions of the present day have ceased to be remembered.

DUNCAN, JOHN.—Of all the enterprises of travel, none perhaps are so dangerous or difficult as the exploration of that vast and mysterious *terra incognita*, the interior of Africa, and none have been more tempting to Scottish perseverance and intrepidity. The names of Bruce, Park, Clapperton, and others who either perished in the journey, or returned home only to die, after their expectations had been crushed and their constitutions broken, will here occur to the memory of the reader. One of this intrepid, self-devoted forlorn hope, was Mr. John Duncan.

This African traveller was born in humble circumstances, being the son of a small farmer in Wigtonshire; but the precise date of his birth we have been unable to ascertain. At an early period he enlisted in the 1st regiment of Life Guards, where he served eighteen years with an excellent character, and was discharged about the year 1840, with the highest testimonials of good conduct. After having left the army, he was attached as armourer to the unfortunate expedition sent out to explore the Niger in 1842. His office on this occasion was one peculiarly trying under a vertical African sun; for in all the treaties made with the native chiefs, he marched at the head of the English party, encumbered with the heavy uniform of a Life-Guardeman, and burning within the polished plates of a tightly-buckled cuirass. He was thus made an imposing pageant, to strike the eyes of the astonished Africans, and impress them with a full sense of the grandeur and military power of Britain. But it was a delusive show; for in such a climate all this glittering harness was an intolerable burden, and the wearer would in reality have been more formidable in the linen-quilted armour of the soldiers of Cortez, or even in a tanned sheepskin. He survived to return to England with such of his companions as remained, but with a shattered constitution, and a frightful wound in his leg, under which he was long a sufferer.

After John Duncan had recovered from the effects of such a journey, instead of being daunted by the toils and dangers he had so narrowly escaped, he only felt a keener desire than ever to attempt new discoveries in the African interior. The excitement of peril had become his chief pleasure, while the do-or-die determination to resume his half-finished adventure, and prosecute it to the close, must be gratified at whatever price. It is of such stuff that the hearts of our African travellers are composed, and how seldom therefore are they satisfied with *one* expedition, however dangerous it may have been? Duncan announced his desire to Mr. Shillinglaw, then librarian to the Geographical Society, and the latter, delighted to find one so well qualified for such a journey, introduced him to the council. The arrangements were soon made, and in the summer of 1844, Duncan set off upon his pilgrimage, under the auspices of the Society, and liberally furnished with everything that could minister to his comfort or facilitate his means of exploration. On reaching Africa, his first attempt was to explore the kingdom of Dahomey, the wealthiest and most civilized—or, perhaps, we should say, the least savage—of all those marvellous African realms which Europeans have as yet reached; and of this country he traversed a large

portion, laying open sources of information concerning it which had hitherto been inaccessible to our travellers. But the sufferings he underwent in this journey were excruciating, chiefly owing to the old wound in his leg, that broke out afresh under the burning climate that had first occasioned it; and so serious at one time were his apprehensions of a mortification supervening, that in the absence of all medical aid, he had actually made preparations for cutting off the limb with his own hand. Happily, a favourable turn made such a desperate resource unnecessary; but the mere resolution shows of what sacrifices he was capable in the prosecution of his purpose. On returning to Cape Coast, much impaired in constitution, he resolved to start afresh on a new journey to Timbuctoo, but continuing ill health obliged him to forego his purpose, and return to England.

Our admiration of Duncan's persevering intrepidity is heightened by the fact, that he was neither a man of science, nor even a tolerable scholar, his early education having been both brief and defective; and thus he was deprived of those sources of enthusiasm which cheered onward such travellers as Bruce and Park to the source of the Nile or the parent streams of the Niger. But he had keen observation and solid sound sense, by which he was enabled materially to enrich our African geography, without the parade of learning; and as such, his communications were so justly appreciated, that after his return to England, her Majesty's Government appointed him to the office of British vice-consul at Whydah, in the kingdom of Dahomey. Nothing could be more grateful to his feelings, for besides being an honourable attestation to his services in behalf of science and humanity, the appointment furnished him with ample means for a third African expedition, in which all his previous attempts as a traveller might be perfected. He set sail accordingly, in H.M.S. *Kingfisher*, but was not destined to reach the expected port; for he sickened during the voyage, and died when the vessel had reached the Bight of Benin, on the 3d of November, 1849.

DUNCAN, THOMAS, R.S.A., A.R.A.—This distinguished member of a class in which Scotland has of late been so prolific, was born at Kinclaven, Perthshire, on the 24th of May, 1807. In early-life his parents removed to Perth, and there the education of the future artist was chiefly conducted. As the tendency towards painting, like that of poetry or music, is natural, not acquired, Thomas Duncan at an early age gave distinct indications of his future walk in life, by drawing likenesses of his young companions, or such objects as struck his fancy; and on one occasion, when himself and his school-fellows had resolved to perform the play of "Rob Roy" in a stable loft, he painted the whole of the scenery that was needed for the occasion. As it is not always that these juvenile predilections find favour in the eyes of prudent parents and guardians, the father of Thomas took the alarm, and hastened to remove his idle boy, as he reckoned him, to an occupation that would ultimately be more profitable; and, with this view, bound him as apprentice to a provincial writer; but such uncongenial drudgery only fostered the tendency which it was meant to cure, so that when Thomas Duncan had finished his time of servitude, there was less chance than ever of his becoming a country lawyer. A painter he would be, and his father was obliged to consent to his choice by allowing him to remove to Edinburgh, that he might cultivate the profession for which nature had designed him. He was so fortunate as to obtain entrance into the Scottish Academy as a pupil, and still more fortunate to have its president, Sir William

Allan, for his preceptor. His progress was commensurate with his talents and his opportunities, for he not only rapidly mastered the rules of art, and acquired artistic skill in delineation, but soon outstripped his class-fellows in that most difficult and delicate of all departments, the drawing of the human frame. At the age of twenty he had entered the academy as a pupil, and as if even already conscious that his life was to be a brief one, he had considerably abbreviated by his diligence the usual term of probation, and become a full-grown artist. This was perceptible even in the first paintings which he produced to public notice; and the "Milkmaid," "Old Mortality," and the "Braw Wooser," which he successively produced, were so highly appreciated by the best judges of pictorial excellence, that although under the usual age of those who had hitherto held such important offices, he was first appointed to the professorship of colouring, and soon afterwards to that of drawing, in the Edinburgh Academy.

Having thus won for himself such high distinction, Mr. Duncan was resolved that it should not be merely local or temporary: he loved art for its own sake, not its emoluments, and longed to paint for immortality, rather than the easily-won celebrity of the passing day. For this purpose he turned his attention to the Royal Academy, and sent thither, in 1840, his elaborate and well-known painting of "Prince Charles Edward and the Highlanders entering Edinburgh after the battle of Prestonpans," a truly national production, the value of which was enhanced to the present generation of Scotchmen by the portraits of several eminent living characters whom he has introduced into the scene. In this great European exhibition of artistic merit and contention, he had a more formidable ordeal to pass than the limited one of Edinburgh; but he triumphantly went through it, and the historical painting of the young Scottish artist was spoken of in terms of the highest commendation. This he successfully followed, in 1841, by his picture of the "Wae-fu' Heart," a scene from the beautiful ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," in which it is enough to say, that the conception of the painter does not fall short of that of the poet; in 1842, by the picture of "Deer-Stalking;" and in 1843, by "Charles Edward asleep after the battle of Culloden, protected by Flora Macdonald." By this time his reputation was so well established that, in the same year, he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy. In 1844 Mr. Duncan sent to the Exhibition his ideal painting of "Cupid," and his historical one of "The Martyrdom of John Brown, of Priesthill, in 1685." These were his principal productions, which are now widely known to the world through the medium of admirable engravings; and to the list might be added his admirable portraits of several eminent Scottish contemporaries, whose features he has perpetuated with a felicity that has been universally acknowledged.

Such was the artistic career of Thomas Duncan, that was now brought to a premature close. His constitution had always appeared a sound one, giving promise of a long and healthy life; but an internal tumour had gradually been forming in his head, near the optic nerves, which at last nearly reduced him to a state of blindness. By skilful medical treatment the malady was almost entirely removed, when it fixed itself upon the brain, producing all the appearances of brain fever, under which he sank, notwithstanding the efforts of the best medical practitioners of Edinburgh, to whom he was justly endeared by his amiable character, as well as high talents and reputation. His death occurred on the 30th of April, 1845, at the age of thirty-eight; and he was survived by a widow and six children, who were not left unprovided; for Duncan, by his

industrious, sober, and frugal habits, was enabled to bequeath to them property to the value of between £2000 and £3000, which doubtless would have been considerably increased had his life been spared a few years longer. A short time before his last illness he had received an order from the Marquis of Breadalbane for a picture, for which he was to be paid £1000. To this brief sketch, we can only add the following summary of his character, as given by a brother-artist and friend of Thomas Duncan:—"Had his life been prolonged, there is no question he would have achieved a lofty position in historical painting; nor must we omit to mention his portraits, which were faithfully and skilfully rendered. As a colourist, indeed, he had few superiors. As an instructor of his art he was kind, conciliatory, and anxious for the improvement of his pupils; and in every relation of domestic life he contrived to secure the esteem and affection of all around him."

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FORDYCE, COLONEL JOHN.—A brave and pious officer, who fell in the Caffre war in 1851, was the eldest son of Thomas J. Fordyce, Esq., of Ayton, Barwickshire, an extensive landed proprietor, of great worth and intelligence. Under the parental roof he was trained from his earliest years in the best lessons of a religious education. His accomplished and truly Christian mother, who "had no greater joy than to see her children walking in the truth," was her son's faithful instructress in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation. A portion of the Sacred Volume was committed each morning to memory, and around the family altar prayer was offered daily to the Lord. At the age of twelve, the subject of this memoir had mastered several of the higher Latin classics, and acquired a tolerable knowledge of Greek. For the acquisition of languages he discovered peculiar aptitude, analyzing with much facility the passages of his favourite authors. It was manifest, from the enthusiasm with which he followed Cæsar and Hannibal, and other heroes of antiquity, through their respective fields of conflict, that he was destined, with Providence as his director, for a military life. The writer of these observations has a vivid recollection of the graphic skill with which, after rising from the pages of Livy or Tacitus, he described the successes or discomfitures of the combatants, and pronounced on the equity or injustice of the causes of warfare. Before leaving home for a private seminary in England, he was thoroughly conversant with the works of our best modern historians, travellers, and poets. After his return, he completed his literary curriculum in Edinburgh, and was resident for some time with Doctor (now Bishop) Terrot, enjoying under his able superintendence advantages equivalent to those of an English university.

His first commission as an ensign in the 34th regiment was dated in 1828. He served with that corps (then in Nova Scotia) until 1832, when he obtained an unattached lieutenancy. The same year, however, he returned to full pay, first in the 94th, and soon after in the 21st. He served with the 21st North British Fusiliers until 1836, when he obtained his company in the 35th regiment, from which he exchanged into the 11th Foot in 1839. Having in 1844 obtained his step as major in the latter regiment, he exchanged the same year into the 74th Highlanders. In 1846 he became lieutenant-colonel and com-

manding officer of this regiment, in which important position he gained the esteem of the military authorities and the affection of all who served under him. Though possessed of a good private fortune, so strong was the *esprit de corps* of this noble officer, that in March, 1851, he embarked with his regiment for the Cape of Good Hope, where, after months of severe and harassing warfare, he fell at the head of his gallant and beloved Highlanders, in the prime of manhood, and with a name already one of renown.

Endowed with a masculine understanding, a capacious and retentive memory, an indomitable perseverance, ample promise was afforded of literary distinction. Highly gifted as was his intellect, which, as if by intuition, separated the accessories from the essentials of any subject, his moral qualities commanded still higher admiration. His bosom was the very soul of honour and generosity. "Truth in the inward parts," manly independence in forming his opinions, and unflinching courage in expressing them, were united with the meekness of wisdom, and an unaffected modesty of demeanour which shrank with sensitive aversion from all ostentatious display. In personal appearance Colonel Fordyce was considerably above the ordinary height, with a high massive forehead, and a countenance which revealed profound thought, calm decision of purpose, and delicate sensibility. There was frequently also a look of pensive reflection, which indicated that he had been no stranger to the afflictions and sorrows of life. By a stranger, indeed, he might sometimes appear chargeable with a degree of reserve, bordering even on *hauteur*; but those who knew him thoroughly could best appreciate the depth and constancy of his friendships, and his warm-hearted sympathy with his fellow-men both "of high and of low degree."

Deprived in youth of his excellent parents, to whom he was ever a dutiful and loving son, he fulfilled with unwearied fidelity and tenderness the part of an elder brother towards all the other members of the family.

In no feature of character was Colonel Fordyce more remarkable than in his strict conscientiousness. Every transaction, private or public, was conducted with a sacred regard to the authority and the glory of God. This profound sense of responsibility for his stewardship distinguished him not only in the more prominent departments of duty, but in the most minute details of everyday life. As an officer who had been called to occupy a high position in the British army, he was ardently and indefatigably devoted to his professional avocations; cheerfully expending time and strength and pecuniary resources in promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the regiment which he commanded. Whilst stationed in Glasgow, a few years ago, opportunities were incidentally afforded for marking the solicitude which he evinced in regard to the intellectual and moral improvement of soldiers' children; using all practicable means, by week-day and Sabbath-schools, that they might be taught the good ways of the Lord.

The 74th, with their gallant Colonel, were ordered from Glasgow to Clonmel, Ireland. The following notice from the Rev. Mr. Dill testifies to the estimation in which he was held in that place:—

"SIR,—The death of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, 74th Highlanders, has been felt as a personal bereavement by all who knew him. Clonmel was the last home-station of the 74th, where, after eight months' residence, they received orders for foreign service in November, 1850. To those even slightly acquainted with the army, it will not sound strange to hear, in the published accounts from the Cape, 'that the whole colony deplores the loss of this noble officer.

Both men and officers feel his loss severely, and at this juncture the loss the service has sustained is incalculable.' But those who knew Colonel Fordyce, not only as a soldier, but as a man and a Christian, can truly estimate his loss to his regiment and his country. As chaplain to the 74th Highlanders, I had frequent opportunity of meeting and observing him. I can truly say that, under God, he devoted himself to his regiment and the service. Though not a member of the Presbyterian Church, he was never absent from his pew on the Lord's-day. I continually found him superintending the regimental Sabbath and week-day schools, and could trace his kind advice and charity everywhere among the sick in hospital, the families and recruits of his regiment. On the evening before the 74th Highlanders left Clonmel for the Cape of Good Hope, he called and handed me £10 for charitable purposes, requesting that I should not give his name as the donor. Besides this, he had given, through my name, within the three preceding months, £15 to other charities. What his other donations were I know not. From what I have heard, they must have been numerous, as I am sure they were unostentatious. The lamentable death of Colonel Fordyce affords me the sad pleasure of acknowledging the benevolence and worth which he would not permit to be made known while he was alive. I feel his death as if it were a personal bereavement, and I pray that our army may be blessed by many such officers.—I remain, yours truly,

"Manse, Clonmel, 10th January, 1852.

"JOHN DILL."

As evincing the Christian and philanthropic spirit by which Colonel Fordyce was animated, one or two extracts from letters to the writer of these lines may be given. The following was received after a domestic bereavement:—

"MY DEAR —,—My having been sent from Dublin with a flying column in pursuit of Smith O'Brien and other rebels, must be my apology for not having written to acknowledge the receipt of the announcement of the deprivation you have sustained, and to assure you of my unfeigned sympathy. I may express my hope that, sustained by the same consolations which you have been so long the honoured instrument of imparting to others, your own bodily health and ability for active exertion may remain unimpaired.

"I need not trespass upon you at this time with any notice of the treasonable proceedings here. The newspapers have given a full account of everything that has occurred; and so far as we (the column of troops) are concerned, we have seen no enemy excepting the continual rain, which is, of course, a very disagreeable one, as we have been marching about and encamped since the 28th July. O'Brien is, as you know, captured, and quietly lodged in jail, and I have no doubt that all thought of open armed rebellion is at an end for the present.

"However it may fare with this unfortunate country, any one of common observation must see that the whole European world is in an unprecedented state; and that whatever may be our exact place in the series of predicted events, some great overwhelming change in the whole structure of human society is impending. My reading of "Elliot's *Horæ Apocalyptice*" has been interrupted by my present occupations, before I could get beyond the first volume, or form any opinion as to his system of interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy. Amidst all the changes, present and coming, upon this world, we have individually many warnings to place our hopes on a world where change and cares are alike unknown,—considerations which it is superfluous in me to suggest to your matured and practised mind, but which rise naturally *as the great*

subjects of the day and hour. A tent does not afford a good writing-table, and damp paper renders my writing more than usually illegible. I trust that Mrs. — is well; and again assuring you of my good wishes, beg you to believe me, ever faithfully and sincerely yours,

"Tipperary, 11th August, 1848.

"J. FORDYCE."

The next extract is from a communication sent after the death of General Sir John Buchan, Colonel Fordyce's uncle, and brother of the venerable Mr. Buchan of Kelloe:—

"Although I take a Glasgow newspaper, 'The Scottish Guardian,' in which there is a full account of the debates in your General Assembly, I have been too much occupied with other matters to look at them since my return, but I glanced at one speech of Dr. Duff's regarding the Indian missions, which appeared to be one of remarkable eloquence and power. He must be indeed gifted with no common energy of character, in addition to genius, eloquence, and many acquirements, to be able to resist the depressing lassitude of an Oriental climate for so many years,—and now to electrify and command a critical audience, as he appears to have done for hours during the late meeting of the Assembly."

A subsequent letter, of date Nov. 8, 1850, inclosing a generous donation for the benefit of certain Free Church students, who were scantily provided with this world's goods, contains the following remarks:—"I have read Dr. Buchanan's book (the 'Ten Years' Conflict') with great interest; and although I may confess to you that, as to my personal taste, I prefer the Liturgy and forms of the Church of England, and cannot quite see that principle required such a sacrifice as the disruption of the Church of Scotland, I sincerely believe now that the cause of the Free Church is in Scotland the cause of Christianity, and that even persons who have not the strong personal motives which I have to look favourably upon its exertions, should, with a cardinal at Westminster, sink all minor differences in their support of Protestant Christianity."

"No one," writes his excellent brother, Major Fordyce, who had shared along with him the toils and the perils of the disastrous struggle, "knew my brother's state of mind better than I did; for I had for a long time been constantly with him, and I knew that he was a faithful follower of Christ, and he is now where there is no more sorrow—no more pain. What a great thing it is to have such consolation! How much more dreadful would have been the sad bereavement if we could not have felt the confidence we do that he died a Christian, and that his removal from this world was the end of all trial to him, and the commencement of an eternity of joy!"

The following particulars of the death of this brave officer, who fell whilst fighting against the Kaffirs at the Cape, are gleaned from letters which appear in the "Graham's Town Journal" of 15th November:—

"FORT BEAUFORT, Tuesday.—After the publication of our extra, the following came to hand, and contains an account of the melancholy fate of the gallant Colonel Fordyce:—

"November 6.—This being the promised day, all eyes were directed to the hills, which we knew to have been planted with the instruments of thunder. The clouds, however, lay piled in heaps long after sunrise; but no sooner had the rays of his refulgence escaped from the clouds which intercepted them, than the curtain gradually rose, and by seven o'clock the frequent report announced that another act of the dull tragedy had commenced. Peal after peal continued

to reverberate among the steep acclivities of the rocky eminences which rise above the dark bush that conceals the enemy. Towards mid-day the wind changed to the south-east, which wafted the sounds from this direction. All were anxiously awaiting the arrival of intelligence from the scene of strife, as we had reason to believe that, from the rapid reports, the conflict was maintained with obstinacy and resolution. Hour succeeded hour, until long after, when in broken accents it was revealed that Colonel Fordyce had fallen. But as this report rested upon the authority of a private letter, brought in by two mounted Fingoes, hopes were entertained that, in the heat and bustle of the moment, some mistake might have occurred. About nine at night, however, the event was confirmed by an eye-witness to the melancholy fact, from whom it appears that the Colonel was leading his men into Waterkloof in column, when suddenly his march was arrested by a rocky precipice, which flanked him in the form of a semicircle; here he found the rebels in considerable force, who knew too well the rules of military tactics to let so favourable an opportunity escape for inflicting a penalty. The bayonets of our brave countrymen in such a position were powerless; they had therefore to contend against an enemy concealed among inaccessible rocks, whom they could not assail; and thus fell, while showing to his men, by example, the first duties of a soldier, the good and the gallant Fordyce. Thus fell the father of his distinguished regiment, to the honour of which all his impulses were directed. The soldier, the woman, and children, to whose comforts he devoted himself with parental solicitude, will long cherish his remembrance. It is to be regretted that so valuable a life should have been sacrificed in so ignoble a strife."

Extract from the leading article of the "Naval and Military Gazette," February, 1852.— . . . "And here we may observe that there must have been something singularly attractive in the noble soldier who fell at the head of the 74th Highlanders, which, in the short time (six months) he had been in the colony, and in Graham's Town in particular, should have so impressed and so endeared him to the inhabitants that the journals of that town announcing his death should be margined with black, and the bell of their distant church has tolled his funeral knell; while the colours, half-mast high, floated languidly in the air, in token of a hero's fall!"

G.

GALLOWAY, SIR ARCHIBALD, K.C.B.—An approved soldier and excellent writer, was born at Perth in 1780, and was the son of Mr. James Galloway of that city. Having chosen arms for his profession, and India for his destination, Archibald Galloway was nominated a cadet in 1799, and appointed to the 58th native infantry, of which he finally became colonel in 1836. During this long period of military service in India, extending over thirty-five years, he was present in several engagements, as well as six sieges and seven storms, in four of which he took a very active share. When Delhi, defended by a handful of British troops, maintained itself against a besieging army of 70,000 men and 130 pieces of cannon, Galloway was one of the brave defenders, and fully shared in the honours of that remarkable resistance. He was also present at the siege of Bhurtpore, conducted by Lord Lake. Captain Galloway's post on that occa-

sion was especially the post of danger, for it was that of the Sappers, a corps so constantly under the enemy's fire, and so frequently employed in the most perilous operations during the siege, that all its officers, and most of its men, were either killed or wounded. On two occasions he headed it in the attack as part of the forlorn hope, and on the last he was dangerously wounded. Besides active services, which are too numerous to specify, and in which his share was that of a fearless, indefatigable, and skilful inferior officer, he was employed on important commissions on the staff, and for several years held high charges in India, in the military engineer department, the last of which was that of member of the Military Board under its new constitution, to which he was appointed by the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck. In this responsible office he so ably acquitted himself, as to be honoured, at his departure from India, with the highest approval of the governor-general in council. General Galloway's various services, during his military career, were also publicly acknowledged by several of our Indian commanders-in-chief upon nine different occasions—by the supreme government of India on twenty-one, and by the Court of Directors and superior authorities in England on eleven—making an amount of distinction sufficient to show that he only required a separate command, and an opportunity, to raise his name to the highest rank in the annals of our Anglo-Indian warfare.

In authorship, General Galloway also obtained a distinction which will, perhaps, outlast the remembrance of his soldiership. At a time when such knowledge was most needed by our military governors and civilians in the East, he wrote a commentary on the "Mahometan Law," and another on the "Law, Constitution, and Government of India." He also wrote a work on "Indian Sieges," which was so highly esteemed, that it was reprinted by the Court of Directors, and used as a text-book in their military college, as well as distributed for general use throughout our Indian army. In addition to these, he was author of several military treatises. He was nominated a companion of the Bath in 1838, and a knight-commander in 1848; and besides these public honours, he was elected a director of the East India Company in 1846, and officiated as its chairman in 1849. His death, which was sudden, being after a few hours' illness, occurred at his house, 18, Upper Harley Street, on the 6th of April, 1850.

GALT, JOHN.—This popular novelist and multifarious writer was born at Irvine, in Ayrshire, on the 2d of May, 1779, and was the son of a sea-captain, who was employed in the West India trade. The stay of young Galt in a district with which he afterwards made the world so well acquainted, was not long-continued, as his parents removed to Greenock when he was eleven years old. In this town of commercial bustle and enterprise, his education was soon finished, as he was destined to follow the occupation of a merchant; and by way of acquiring a proper knowledge of his future profession, he was, in the first instance, employed as a clerk in the custom-house of Greenock, and afterwards in a counting-house in the same town. This was unfavourable training for that life of authorship which he followed with such ardour in after periods; but his diligence and perseverance in self-education during the hours of leisure, not only formed the groundwork, but the incitement of his future literary undertakings. His first attempts, as is usual with young aspirants, were in poetry; and one of these, a tragedy, founded on the history of Mary Queen of Scots, he sent to Constable for publication, but had the MS. returned unread. He was con-

soled, however, for this disappointment by having his smaller lucubrations occasionally published in the "Greenock Advertiser," and one or two of the Scottish magazines. He thus saw himself in print, and the consequences it is easy to divine—his enthusiasm would expand into full-grown authorship. Undismayed by the rejection of his tragedy, Galt next attempted an epic, the title of which, was "The Battle of Larga." It was written in octo-syllabic rhyme, and he prided himself not a little on the fact, that in this matter at least he had preceded Sir Walter Scott. This poem, written in five cantos, was enabled partly to struggle into light in consequence of detached portions of it having been published in the "Scots Magazine" for 1803 and 1804. It is as well that the world was not troubled with it *in toto*, as the following invocation to Lok, which is in "Ercles' vein," will sufficiently testify:—

"The hideous storm that dosing lay,
Thick blanketed in clouds all day,
Behind sulphureous Hecla, we
Roused to this wrecking wrath for thee,
And sent him raging round the world,
High in a thund'ring chariot hurl'd;
Whose steeds, exulting with their load,
As the grim fiend they drag abroad,
Whisk with their tails the turrets down
Of many a temple, tower, and town."

Or take the following description of Erie, one of the Norse Eumenides, in which the sudden alternations of rising and sinking can scarcely be paralleled even by Sir Richard Blackmore:—

"Her looks sulphureous glow—
Her furnace-eyes, that burn'd below
A dismal forehead, glaring wide,
Like caves by night in Hecla's side,
And what her fangs for staff did grasp,
'Twas fired iron—Hell's hatchway's hasp.

* * * * *

At length she stood,
And scowling o'er the woltering flood,
That louder rag'd, she stretch'd her hand,
Clutching the red Tartarean brand
Aloft, and, as the black clouds sunder'd,
Dared the high heavens till they thunder'd."

It was in London that this poetical attempt was made. He had gone to the metropolis in 1803 or 1804, and there, a few months of leisure at his first entrance, had encouraged those desperate conceptions in Runic mythology, which he extended through five mortal cantos. It was not, however, by writing epics that he could support himself in London. He therefore commenced business in good earnest, and entered into partnership with a young countryman of his own: but they soon disagreed; their affairs were unsuccessful, and in about three years the concern became bankrupt. This combination of poetry and business was not sufficient for the versatile mind of Galt; other subjects of study occupied his attention, among which were astrology, alchemy, history, and political economy. Was it wonderful then that his name, before it figured in authorship, should have found a place in the bankrupt list?

After this mercantile disaster Galt tried to re-establish himself in business

along with a brother ; but this attempt also proved abortive. Sick of merchandise, and impatient to try something else, he resolved to devote himself to the profession of law ; and for this purpose entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. He was soon overtaken by a nervous indisposition, that unfitted him for the dry studies of "Coke upon Littleton ;" and, by way of solace, until the malady should pass away, he sat down to write a book. The subject was ready to his hand ; for, in a walk with some friends through the colleges of Oxford in 1805, he had felt indignant that Cardinal Wolsey, the founder of Christ Church College, should have been allowed to bequeath such a boon without a fitting commemoration from its learned disciples ; and since better might not be, he had resolved, alien though he was, at some time or other to repair the deficiency. That season had now arrived ; and accordingly, about the beginning of 1809, he commenced a life of Cardinal Wolsey, and finished it in a very few months. The short time that he took for the necessary reading and research, as well as writing, which such a subject required, will give an adequate conception of the natural impetuosity of his intellect. But with this haste and hurry there was curiously combined the grave methodical arrangement of the counting-house : he transcribed upon one part of his writing-paper the historical facts extracted from Cavendish, Fiddes, and Hume, and wove round them, upon the margin and between the interstices, his own remarks and deductions, until a gay party-coloured web was the result ; after which he systematized the whole into a continuous narrative. "I was desirous," he says of it, "to produce a work that would deserve some attention." This work, which he afterwards improved and extended, was not published till three years afterwards. As his health did not improve, he now resolved to try the effects of travel before being called to the English bar ; and in 1809 he left England for a tour, which extended over three years. The result of this long journey was two separate works at his return. The first was entitled, "Voyages and Travels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, and Turkey ;" and the second, "Letters from the Levant, containing Views of the State of Society, Manners, Opinions, and Commerce in Greece and several of the principal Islands of the Archipelago."

These were not the only works which Galt published on his return to England. His poetical inspiration still haunted him, but so much sobered down, that during his tour he had been employing himself in writing dramas on the plan of Alfieri, where the simplicity of the plot and fewness of the characters were to be compensated by the full force of nature and poetic excellence. This was certainly a great sacrifice in one whose imagination so revelled in plot, and was so fertile in incident. The volume, which was published in 1812, contained the tragedies of Maddalen, Agamemnon, Lady Macbeth, Antonia, and Clytemnestra ; and as only 250 copies were printed, the work being published on his own account, it had little chance of undergoing the test of public opinion. Even as it was, however, it was roughly handled in the Quarterly Review, by an ironical criticism, in which Galt was elevated to the rank of a second Shakspeare. Soon after his return, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Tilloch, editor of the "Philosophical Magazine," and proprietor of the "Star," a newspaper on which Galt had been for some time employed. In the same year, also (1812), so prolific in his publishing adventures, he sent through the press his "Reflections on Political and Commercial Subjects."

Having now abandoned all thoughts of devoting himself to the bar, Galt was

compelled to have recourse to authorship, until something more stable should occur. He therefore wrote in the "Monthly Magazine," and other periodicals of the day. He also projected, with Mr. Colburn the publisher, a periodical which, under the title of the "New British Theatre," should publish the best of those dramatic productions which the managers of the great play-houses had rejected. It was hoped that in this way deserving talent would be rescued from oblivion; and "many a gem of purest ray serene" be made to glitter in the eye of a delighted world, instead of being trampled among the dust of the green-room. It was a most benevolent and hopeful speculation, of which Galt, the proposer, was appointed editor. But little did he anticipate the flood-gates of mud which such a proposal opened. There was an instant jail-delivery of manuscript plays, enough to have converted the country into a literary Botany Bay or Alsatia; and Galt, amidst the heap of dramatic matter, under which he was well-nigh smothered, was obliged to confess at last that the managers of theatres were not such reckless or unjust rejectors as they had been called. The work at its commencement was successful, but soon afterwards fell off, although the plan was improved by the admission of plays that had been written but not presented. Before it expired, Galt possessed and availed himself of the opportunity of inserting some of his own dramatic productions, among which was the tragedy of "The Witness," afterwards performed in several towns with altered titles. After this, his career for some years was one of active business, combined with authorship. During his travels he had conceived the idea of importing British goods through Turkey, in spite of the continental blockade by which Napoleon endeavoured to exclude our commerce; and upon this plan he employed himself diligently for some time both in England and Scotland. But the conception appeared too bold and hazardous to those traders who were invited to the risk; and his efforts ended in disappointment. Another occupation with which he was commissioned, was to superintend a bill through the House of Commons, intrusted to him by the Union Canal Company. As enough of leisure was afforded him in London during the suspense of this bill, he wrote the "Life and Studies of Benjamin West." He also wrote a romance, of which the hero was the Wandering Jew. Of this work two considerable editions were sold, although it had never been reviewed. This neglect the author, who affectionately clung to the remembrance of his Wandering Jew to the last, regarded with some surprise. "How the work," he says, "should have been so long unnoticed, while others which treat of the same subject have attracted considerable attention, I cannot say; but this I know, that many of my own far inferior productions, in originality and beauty, have been much applauded, and yet I doubt if they have sold so well." We suspect that few of our readers have been among the purchasers of this wonderful myth, or have even heard its name till now.

Amidst all the toil and struggle of these literary attempts, John Galt had not yet discovered where his strength lay. History, biography, travels, epic and dramatic poetry, romance—he had tried them all, but attained success in none. His over-boiling imagination and erratic fancy were too much even for fiction, whether in prose or verse; and when he attempted sober narrative, his love of originality was ever leading him into some startling paradox, which the facts of history were unable to make good. The eccentricity of his political opinions had also given not a little offence to the still predominant party; for although a Tory in theory, he seemed a very Radical in practice, and had more

than once run a muck against the powers that be, when he found them stopping up his way. On this account he had also brought down upon his head the ire of the Quarterly Review, whose censure was enough to blight the popularity of an author among Tory readers, and throw him out upon neutral ground. Thus, up to 1820, his attempts were a series of literary blunders, and his production of that year, "The Earthquake," a stern, sombre novel, in three volumes, which has shared the fate of his other productions written before this period, should, in ordinary circumstances, have been his last attempt in authorship. But in his long search in the dark he had hit upon the right vein at last. It was not in the wild and wonderful that he was to excel, but in the homely, the humorous, and the caustic. "The hero's harp, the lover's lute," with which he had tried to enchant the world, but to no purpose, were to be exchanged for the vulgar bagpipe and stock-and-horn. His first attempt in this way was the "Ayrshire Legatees"—a work which originated in mere accident. One of his enjoyments was to "show the lions" to such strangers as were introduced to him in London; and of these, as might be expected, were many original characters from the far north, whose sensations among the wonders of the great metropolis were a rich feast to his keen observant eye and quick sense of the ludicrous. It soon occurred to him that these peculiarities might be embodied in particular personages, and illustrated by correspondent adventures. The whole materials were before him like those of a rich landscape, and only needed artistic selection and combination to form a very choice picture. Upon this idea he set to work, and without any formal plot for his story, scene after scene grew upon his hand as it was needed, until the "Ayrshire Legatees" was the result. It was in this way that "Humphrey Clinker" was produced—the best of all Smollett's productions. As fast as the chapters of Galt's new attempt were written, they were published in Blackwood's Magazine of 1820 and 1821, and their appearance excited universal attention, while they continued to rise in popularity to the last; so that, when finished, they were published separately, and eagerly devoured by the novel-reading public. It was a style of writing which had been so long disused, as to have all the charms of originality, while the truthfulness of the different characters was such as to impart to fiction all the charms of reality. Galt found that he had succeeded at last, and followed up his success with the "Annals of the Parish," which was published in 1821. This work, however, although so late in its appearance, was, properly speaking, the first of Galt's Scottish novels, as it had been written in 1813, but laid aside, until the success of the "Ayrshire Legatees" encouraged him to commit it to the press. In this work, also, he had not troubled himself about the construction of a regular plot, and, like its predecessor, it was all the better for the omission. Long before he commenced the "Annals," his ambition had been to "write a book that would be for Scotland what the 'Vicar of Wakefield' is for England;" and this was the result. He certainly could not have adopted a better model.

No one can imagine that the pen of Galt, so indefatigable when success was against it, would now relapse into idleness. In the "Annals of the Parish" he had exhibited the progress of improvement in a rural district of the west of Scotland; he was now desirous of describing the same progress in a town. Such was the origin of the "Provost," which was published in 1822. He had now learned the true secret of novel-writing, as is evident from the following statement:—"In the composition of the 'Provost' I followed the same rule of art

which seemed to me so proper in the 'Annals of the Parish,' namely, to bring impressions on the memory harmoniously together; indeed, I have adhered to the principle in all my subsequent compositions, and sometimes I fancy that the propriety of doing so may be justified by nature. I think no ingenuity can make an entirely new thing. Man can only imagine the old together; join legs, and arms, and wings as he may, only the forms of previously-created things can be imitated. The whole figure may be *outré*, and unlike anything in the heavens, or the earth, or the waters under the earth; but the imitations of the human hand in the details will ever be evident. . . . In my youth I wrote a poem called the 'Legend of St. Anthony,' which I undertook with the intention of depicting comical phantasms; but I had not proceeded far till I was induced to change my mind, by observing that my most extravagant fancies were only things of curious patchwork, and that the same defect might be discerned in all those things in which the 'creative' power of genius was said to be more indisputable. . . . I therefore give up all pretension to belonging to that class who deal in the wild and wonderful; my wish is, to be estimated by the truth of whatever I try to represent."

The next work of Galt was the "Steam-boat," a novel, published originally in Blackwood, in which he wished to give such an account of the coronation of George IV. as an "abortive bailie" from Scotland might be likely to do. This was followed by "Sir Andrew Wyllie," in which he wished to exhibit the rise and progress of an humble Scotchman in London. In this tale, however, he gave way to his literary besetting sin, a fault of which he was afterwards fully conscious; and he says of it very justly, "The incidents are by far too romantic and uncommon to my own taste, and are only redeemed from their extravagance by the natural portraiture of the characters."

But, indeed, either accurate conception or finished execution could scarcely be expected from Galt in his writings at this period, when we remember that the three last-mentioned works, viz., the "Provost," the "Steam-boat," and "Sir Andrew Wyllie," were all published in 1822. In the following year he produced his "Gathering of the West," which was also published in the first instance in Blackwood's Magazine. The subject was the visit of George IV. to Scotland—an event that appeared in so many ludicrous aspects to the mirthful satirical mind of Galt, that he could not repress his profane chuckling at this great *avatar*, even when he endeavoured to look the most composed. He therefore says of the "Gathering," and its kindred work, the "Steam-boat"—"Notwithstanding the deference for magnates and magnificence under which these works were written, the original sin may be detected here and there peeping out, insomuch that those who consider Toryism as consisting of the enjoyment of at least pensions, must be dreadfully shocked to think even a moderate politician of any sort could be so far left to himself as to speak so irreverently of things which concerned the affairs of empires and burgh towns."

We have already alluded to Galt's exuberance in the productions of 1822; but that of the following year was still more excessive, so that it might well be said of him, *vires acquirit eundo*. Thus the "Entail," "Ringan Gilhaize," and the "Spawwife"—each a three-volumed novel—were published during this year of portentous abundance. The first of these novels was founded upon an incident related by the Lord Provost of Glasgow to Galt. It was in this way that he was accustomed to make the most of everything that he had heard or witnessed, by either laying it down as the groundwork of a tale, or

introducing it as an amusing episode; and in this faculty of adaptation lay much of the excellence of his popular works. Thus his vigorous and picturesque description of the northern coast of Scotland, in the "Entail," was expanded from an interesting account of the locality given to him by a daughter of Sir John Sinclair; while many of the grotesque events and humorous jokes with which his other tales abound, had long previously enlivened the firesides of the peasantry. In him, however, it was no small merit that he should have introduced them so happily, and told them so well. As a proof of the acceptability of his last-mentioned work, Galt tells us, in his "Literary Life and Miscellanies," that Sir Walter Scott had read it thrice, and Lord Byron as often. Of "Ringan Gilhaize," he also tells us that it received the unique and distinguished honour of being recommended from the pulpit by one of the ministers of Aberdeen. This tale, in which the narrator, a persecuted Covenanter, relates the history of his grandfather, gives a sketch of the rise and progress of the Reformation in Scotland, from the days of Knox and Murray to the close of the reign of the Stuarts; and for the purpose of collecting materials, and preserving the accuracy of the narrative, Galt went to Rinsory-house to gather traditions, and collected several relics of the battle of Killiecrankie. The cause which incited him to write such a work was indignation at the popularity of "Old Mortality," in which the Covenanters were held up to ridicule; and he was animated with a chivalrous zeal to vindicate the character of these heroic but much-vilified sufferers in the cause of conscience and religion. But unfortunately Ringan Gilhaize was no match for Balfour of Burley. In this tale Galt very rashly abandoned his own field of broad reality and plain every-day life, for one where nothing but history and imagination could aid him; and therefore it exhibited a marked deficiency both in execution and popular interest. It was still worse, however, with the "Spaewife," where he went back from the Covenanting periods, with which the Scottish public can still sympathize, to the fifteenth century of Scottish history, about which they know little and care still less; and with all his attempts at the sublime, which often swelled into the turgid, he could not interest his readers one jot in the Duke of Albany and his worthless brood, or even in James I., our heroic minstrel king. It was certainly an over-ambitious attempt, and as such it failed. At this period the empire of historical romance belonged to Sir Walter Scott, and to him alone, without peer or rival. But that such an attempt was the opening of a safety-valve, and that the work would have exploded in some fashion or other, is manifest, from the following statement of the author:—"The fate of James I. of Scotland early seemed to me possessed of many dramatic capabilities; and in the dream of my youth, to illustrate by tales, ballads, and dramas, the ancient history of my country, it obtained such a portion of my attention, that I have actually made a play on the subject. In riper life, many years after, I wrote the novel; and my knowledge of the age in which the transactions lie, enabled me to complete the story in such a manner that, merely as an antiquarian essay, it merits consideration." To the "Spaewife" succeeded "Rothelan." This also is a historical novel or romance; and not content with going back so far as to the reign of Edward III., Galt transferred the scene to England, where his great *forte* as a Scottish novelist had to be utterly laid aside; and "Rothelan" was a failure. Among the manifold aims of the author's ambition, that of being a good musical composer happened to be one; and in "Rothelan," Galt had not only written two songs, but also set them to music. But it unfortunately hap-

pened that the printer was smitten with the same ambition, and not liking the tunes, he substituted two of his own, which were printed in the work. "At the time," says Galt, "I was staying with a friend, and a copy of the book was left for me in the morning. On going down stairs I found it in the library, where we usually breakfasted; and as pleased at the sight as a hen with her egg, of which she cannot keckle enough to the world about, I lifted the volumes, and turned to the tunes. Courteous reader, sympathize! Instead of my fine airs, with an original inflection, that had been much admired by a competent judge, I beheld two that surely had been purchased at the easy charge of a half-penny a-piece from a street piper! I looked aghast, and almost fainted. There was a grand piano in the drawing-room. I rushed, book in hand, upstairs in a whirlwind. It was of no use—the piano too was a *particeps criminis*, and would only pronounce the Highland coronachs which stand in the publication even to this day; and the worst of it was, my friend, instead of taking out his handkerchief and condoling becomingly, only gave vent to 'unextinguishable laughter,' and paid no attention to my pathetic appeals at the figure I must cut, being really no deacon among musicians, at the thought of having two such horrid frights affiliated to me."

A change once more occurred in the life of Galt, in which the active laborious author was to be transformed into the equally active and enterprising man of business. Besides being reckoned only inferior to Sir Walter Scott as a delineator of Scottish character and manners, his reputation stood high as one well acquainted with the principles and practice of commerce; and on this account the inhabitants of Canada commissioned him as their agent to prosecute their claims on the home government for the losses they had sustained during the occupation of the province by the army of the United States. During the negotiations which occurred in consequence, a proposal to sell Crown lands in Upper Canada for the indemnification of the sufferers was made by Mr. Galt, and adopted by government, and a Canada Company was incorporated in 1826, to purchase land and colonize it. During the previous year he had been employed in valuing the lands that were to be exposed to sale, after which he had returned to England; but in the autumn of 1826 he went back to Canada, where he was employed by the company as their superintendent. His able and active management soon secured the confidence of his constituents; new settlements were founded, a village was called by his name, and the township of Guelph was his entire creation. But unfortunately Galt's activity was not balanced by an equal amount of prudence, and in the ardour of his proceedings he managed to involve himself in quarrels with the colonial government, and with Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was at its head. Such is too often the folly and the fate of those who go forth as the reformers of our colonies; they enter their new sphere of action with their heads filled with *Magna Charta* and the rights of British citizenship, forgetful all the while of the distance of these colonies from the parent seat of government, and the necessity of a more stringent rule than would be tolerated in London or Edinburgh. This seems to have been the error of Galt; and in consequence of the complaints that were sent home against him, he was superseded by the directors of the company. But, whether in the bustle of action or the chagrin of disappointment, his pen could not lie idle; and during this period he produced the "Omen," a tale that was favourably reviewed in *Blackwood's Magazine* by Sir Walter Scott, and the "Last of the Lairds," a novel which he meant to be the continuation of a

class that has the "Annals of the Parish" for its commencement. For the encouragement of the drama in Quebec he also wrote a farce, entitled "Visitors; or, a Trip to Quebec," which was acted with great success by an amateur company. Another, which he wrote for New York, to propitiate the Americans, who had taken offence at his "Visitors," was entitled "An Aunt in Virginia," and was afterwards published in Blackwood's Magazine, with the scene transferred from New York to London. He intended to write a third for his own town of Guelph, where his dwelling-house was to be converted into a theatre, and the drama introduced into this infant settlement; but his design was suspended by more urgent demands, and the necessity of his speedy return to England.

This event occurred in 1829, after he had been two years and a half in America. On his return, without a situation, and almost penniless, Galt's creditors became urgent, and he was obliged, in consequence, to avail himself of the Insolvent Debtors' Act. The world was now to be commenced anew; but the elasticity of youth and the ardour of hope were exhausted, and Galt, now at the age of fifty, had already done more than most men have achieved at that period. And yet he must continue an author, no longer, however, from choice, but necessity; for of all that he had possessed, nothing but his pen remained. And bravely he girded himself for the task, and published in succession "Lawrie Todd," "Southennan," and the "Life of Lord Byron." They were written with his wonted rapidity, being produced in 1829 and 1830; but the spirit that formerly animated him had become languid, so that these works, excellent though they are, will not stand comparison with his former novels that so highly interested the Scottish public. While he was occupied with the "Life of Lord Byron," a caustic production, in which his lordship meets with somewhat rough entertainment, Galt accepted the editorship of the "Courier," a newspaper of high Tory principles. But however well-adapted in many ways for such an office, it is easy to guess that he could not continue long to hold it, and that the same independence of spirit which wrecked him in Canada, would mar him as the Corypheus of any political party whatever in the journalism of London. "The only kind of scruple that I felt," he says, "if such it may be called, was in thinking the politics of the journal a little too ardent for the spirit of the times; and in consequence, my first object was to render them more suitable to what I apprehended was the wholesome state of opinion, preparatory to introducing occasionally more of disquisition into the articles. . . . Accordingly, without manifesting particular solicitude to make myself remarkable, I began by attempting gradually to alleviate the ultra-toryism of the paper, by explanations of more liberality than the sentiments of any party." By such an honest procedure either the newspaper or the editor must go down; and Galt thus continues his narrative: "I had not been long installed as editor till I perceived that the business would not suit me. In point of emolument it was convenient; but, as I have elsewhere shown, money matters have ever been perhaps too slightly regarded by me, and my resignation, though it partook of that promptitude of enunciation which all my decisions have uniformly manifested, was, however, the result of very solemn reflection. To men who have juster notions of the value of money than I have ever entertained—not from persuasion, but from habit, if not constitutional carelessness—my resignation in such a crisis of fortune will not be easily comprehensible; but to those who think, as the old song sings, that there are things 'which gold can never buy,' no further explanation can be necessary."

About the same period Galt, while thus busied with literature, attempted to form a new American Land Company, but was unsuccessful; and to aggravate his misfortunes, two attacks of paralysis warned him that his day of enterprise had ended—that he was now chained to the oar. He retired to his native country, there to await his time, so doubly uncertain; and to close his eyes, when his hour came, amidst the scenery and society which he had loved so well. Yet he still continued to linger on from year to year, although repeated shocks of the malady inflicted at each visitation the "bitterness of death;" and while his memory was impaired and his mind enfeebled, he was still obliged to toil for the support of a life that seemed scarcely worth having. And yet he could still be happy, for his was that healthful state of feeling that looked habitually upon the bright side of things, and could find itself occupation as long as a single faculty remained in exercise. With an amanuensis, or a chance friend to transcribe from his dictation, he continued to pour forth volume after volume, "to wrench life from famine," as he mournfully expressed it; and although these productions could scarcely bear comparison with those of his happier years, they still retained the impress of his former vivacity and inventiveness, as well as much of his vigorous talent and reach of thought. In this way he produced, among other publications, the "Autobiography of John Galt," in two volumes 8vo, and the "Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt," in three volumes 12mo, from which the materials of the foregoing sketch have been mainly derived. At length, after the fourteenth stroke of paralysis, he died at Greenock, on the 11th of April, 1839.

The works of Galt were very numerous, comprising about fifty volumes of novels, and more than a score of dramas, independently of his biographical and miscellaneous works. Of these, however, only a tithe of his tales will continue to be read and valued, not only for their intrinsic excellence, but as the transcripts of a state of society that is rapidly passing away. In this department the name of John Galt will be perpetuated as a national remembrance, and his descriptions be prized when the living reality has departed.

GARDNER, GEORGE, an eminent botanist, was born, in 1810, at Ardentilly, where his father, a native of Aberdeen, acted as gardener to the Earl of Dunmore. He was the second son. In 1816 his father became gardener to the Earl of Eglinton at Ardrossan, and there the subject of our sketch attended the parish school till 1822, when his parents removed to Glasgow. Here he was placed at the grammar-school, and, in the course of his studies, acquired a good knowledge of the Latin language. He had early imbibed, probably from his father's occupation, a taste for botany; but it was perhaps as much by accident as design that he subsequently devoted his life to the science.

He commenced the study of medicine in the Andersonian university of Glasgow, and continued, during the winter and summer sessions of 1829, '30, '31, and '32, to pursue his studies with a degree of zeal and persevering industry which won for him high distinction in college honours. He also, in 1829, '30, and '31, attended the classes of anatomy, surgery, chemistry, materia medica, &c., in the university, where he likewise distinguished himself in the prize list. In 1830 he joined the Glasgow Medical Society, and during that year, and 1831 and '32, his attendance at the Royal Infirmary was unremitting. Still, amidst these severer studies, he found leisure to indulge his early bias for botany. His first rudiments of the science were obtained from Dr. Rattray, and he continued to improve himself by botanizing rambles in

the country, and frequent visits to the Botanical Garden, with the curator of which, Mr. Stewart Murray, he formed a friendship which continued to the day of his death. Through Mr. Murray, and from his having discovered, in one of his rambles, the rare *Nuphar minima* or *pulima*, growing in Mugdock Loch, he became known to Sir William J. Hooker, the eminent professor of botany in the university of Glasgow. He now attended Sir William's botanical lectures, and that truly amiable gentleman, soon formed a high estimate of his character and talents. As a student, he made several botanical excursions to the Highlands with the Professor and his class; and to the intimacy thus produced may be attributed the important change in his future career.

From the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, Gardner obtained his diploma as surgeon, with high marks of distinction. Meanwhile he had made himself acquainted with the flowering plants of Scotland, and studied cryptogamic botany so successfully that, in 1836, he brought out a work, entitled "*Musci Britannici*, or Pocket Herbarium of British Mosses," arranged and named according to Hooker's "*British Flora*." This work was flatteringly received, and has been of great value to muscologists. The specimens are beautifully dried, and neatly attached; whilst its general accuracy can be depended upon, as he had not only free access to the splendid library of Sir William Hooker, but the benefit of his personal assistance.

A copy of the "*Musci Britannici*" having reached the late Duke of Bedford—well known for the interest which he took in botanical science—his grace became a liberal patron, and warmly encouraged his ambition to proceed upon a foreign exploratory mission. After the death of the lamented Drummond, whose labours in Texas and parts of Central America had greatly enriched the Royal Botanic Garden, the directors of that institution were solicitous still further to promote its scientific character; and arrangements were made for his proceeding to North Brazil, to explore the botany of that country. As in the case of Drummond, Sir William Hooker undertook to procure a number of subscribers for the dried specimens, and to be at the trouble of subdividing and forwarding them to the respective parties; the curator, at the same time, agreeing to take a similar charge of the seeds and living plants sent home. Many of the public botanic gardens, as well as a number of amateur noblemen and gentlemen, were subscribers, and by this means, for a moderate sum, had their collections largely and richly increased. Amongst others the Duke of Bedford was a munificent contributor; and all preliminaries having been arranged for Gardner's departure, his grace not only interested his son, Lord Edward Russell, R.N., commanding on the American station, in his behalf, but secured for him a free passage out in one of H.M. ships. This, however, he politely declined, preferring the greater privacy of a merchant ship, that he might have leisure to study, and especially to improve himself in his knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. So far from being offended, the duke magnanimously sent a draft for £50 in lieu of the free passage.

In the summer of 1836 Gardner sailed from Liverpool, and, after a favourable passage, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, with the appearance of which, and the surrounding scenery, he was perfectly captivated, and wrote home in glowing terms, descriptive of his first impressions. Amidst scenes so tempting to a naturalist, Gardner did not long remain inactive. He made frequent excursions in the vicinity of Rio, and particularly to the Organ mountains. In these

rambles he was often accompanied by Mr. Miers, a gentleman resident in the country, of whose kindness he ever spoke in the highest terms. His first collection of plants, seeds, and specimens for the herbarium, were drawn chiefly from this quarter. These came home in excellent condition, and proved highly interesting. They contained many new orchids, liliacæ, palms, &c. He subsequently penetrated into the interior, and spent a considerable time in exploring the diamond regions. He was indefatigable in his mission, and his long and toilsome journeys were often attended with no small adventure, and even peril. Five years—from 1836 till 1841—were passed in Brazil. Before returning home, which he did in the latter year, he paid a parting visit to the Organ mountains, his object in doing so being, as he himself says, in one of his letters, to “make a collection of some of the fine shrubs and herbaceous plants which are to be found principally on the higher levels” of that range, to take home with him in the living state. After penetrating into the interior, he found the difficulty of sending home living plants almost insurmountable; yet he continued to preserve large collections for the herbarium, which, with seeds and such living plants as could endure the inland journey, prior to their long voyage, were sent home as opportunity offered. Some of the *Melastomacæ*, as *Pleroma Benthamianum* and *Multiflora* may be mentioned among the number as now ornamenting every good collection of hot-house plants; also, many beautiful *Franciscas*, &c.

Although botany was, of course, his chief pursuit, Gardner had always an eye to what might be of interest in other departments of natural history—hence his collections were swelled with minerals, recent and fossil shells, preserved skins of birds, fishes, &c. He, at the same time, did not neglect his medical acquirements. Throughout his extended journeyings, he carried his surgical instruments along with him, and performed several important operations with entire success, which not only improved his finances, but gained him many friends—thus securing a degree of respect, comfort, and, in some cases, safety, among the native tribes, which only a medical man might expect to enjoy. Amidst his multifarious labours, he kept up his home correspondence with surprising regularity, writing often to Sir William Hooker and Mr. Murray, and occasionally communicating with the more distinguished foreign botanists of the day. Several of his papers and letters were inserted by Sir William in the “*Journal of Botany*.” In one of these, dated Province of Minas, September 3, 1840, he refers to the death of his “generous patron, the Duke of Bedford,” in terms which bespeak the deep gratitude by which he was actuated. Nor did he overlook the claims of his own relations to a share in his epistolary attention; and even his juvenile friends, such as Dr. Joseph Hooker, and Mr. Murray’s family, were not forgotten.

In 1842, not long after his return, Gardner was elected professor of botany in the Andersonian university, and had prepared a course of lectures; but he did not retain that appointment, seeing, at the time, little prospect of the class being well attended. Meanwhile he occupied himself in arranging the materials of his Brazilian journal, with a view to publication. The work, however, was still incomplete, when, in 1843, he was appointed to Ceylon, as island botanist and superintendent of the botanic garden there, by the colonial government. This situation he owed to the influence of his never-failing friend, Sir William Hooker, who had himself been, some time previously, promoted to the office of director-general of the Royal Gardens at Kew. While in London,

receiving instructions before embarkation, he experienced much kindness from Lord Stanley, now the Earl of Derby.

On arriving in Ceylon, his first consideration was bestowed on the botanic garden, which he repaired, re-arranged, and greatly improved. He then began to make botanical excursions over the island, thus enriching the garden with the fruits of his journeys. He also transmitted to the botanic gardens in Britain, especially Kew, such plants and seeds as were likely to prove acceptable, obtaining in return the productions of other climes—South America, the West Indies, &c., for the Ceylon garden. During his rambles he discovered the upas tree, which was not previously known to exist in Ceylon. A writer in one of the Ceylon papers, whose article was copied into "Chambers's Journal," says:—"When returning to Kornegalle, we were most fortunate in the pleasure of having for a companion Dr. Gardner, the eminent botanist, in whose company the most insignificant plant or flower has an interest, in relation to which, he has always something instructive to tell. On our journey back to Kandy, he discovered the upas tree, growing within a few miles of Kornegalle. It was not known before that it grows in Ceylon."

Gardner's position and eminence, as a botanist, led him into an extensive correspondence, notwithstanding which, and his multifarious official duties, he so regulated his labours as to be able, not long after his arrival in Ceylon, to finish the arrangement of his Brazilian papers, which were published in London, by Reeves Brothers, in 1846. The work, 562 pp. 8vo, is entitled, "Travels in the Interior of Brazil, principally through the Northern Provinces and the Gold Districts, during the years 1836-41." It was very favourably received, being sufficiently popular in its style to interest the general reader, whilst it did not disappoint the expectations of the man of science.

Lord Torrington, governor of Ceylon, proved a kind friend and patron to Gardner, thereby enabling him greatly to extend his botanical labours; so also did Sir James Emmerson Tennent, the secretary. Both of these honoured names are often mentioned with grateful feelings in his letters. It was at Neuria Ellia Rest-house, the residence of Lord Torrington, that his demise took place. He arrived there on the 10th of March, 1849, about 3 o'clock p.m., and, after luncheon with Lord and Lady Torrington, retired to rest in his room, his lordship and Dr. Fleming riding out meanwhile. Next day the party was to have gone on an excursion to the Horton Plains. Lord Torrington and the doctor had not proceeded far when they were recalled by express, Gardner having been attacked by a severe fit of apoplexy. Everything was done which medical science could suggest, but all to no purpose; he died at 11 o'clock at night, surrounded by a circle of deeply grieved friends. He was in the prime of life, and, as remarked at luncheon by Lady Torrington, never seemed in better health and spirits. He had been remarkable throughout life for abstinence. Even during three years of constant travelling, irregularity, and fatigue, while exploring the interior of Brazil, he drank nothing stronger than tea, of which he had secured a good supply before leaving Pernambuco.

Lord Torrington, in communicating the afflicting intelligence to Sir William Hooker, thus warmly eulogizes the character of the deceased: "I can honestly say that the colony, and the public in general, have experienced a severe loss in this talented and excellent man—one who was loved by all—never did I see so amiable a person, one who possessed more benevolence, or was more ready to impart information to those who asked for it."

Thus the science of botany was deprived of an enthusiastic student, and able expositor, in the prime of life and the vigour of intellect. It is believed, by those who best knew him, that his end was hastened by excessive mental labour. Amongst his numerous MSS. is one in a finished state, which he was about to send to press, designed as an elementary work on the botany of India; and, as stated by Sir W. Hooker, in noticing his death in the "Journal of Botany," he had made extensive collections towards a complete "Flora Zeylanica." As a matter of general interest, it is not unworthy of notice that Gardner had taken out a patent for preparing coffee leaf, so as to afford a beverage, by infusion, "forming an agreeable, refreshing, and nutritive article of diet."

According to Gardner's will, his books and herbarium were to be offered to the Ceylon government, to form part of the establishment at Peradenia, at a certain valuation; and, if not accepted, to be forwarded to his executor in Britain, Sir W. Hooker. The government having declined the offer, they were accordingly placed at the disposal of Sir William, by whose disinterested efforts the herbarium realized prices much beyond what could have been expected.

GEIKIE, WALTER.—It has often been observed, that the Scottish national character abounds in contradictions. Poetical though it be, it has never produced a Milton; and in spite of all its wisdom and sagacity, it has not as yet exhibited a first-rate statesman. The same inconsistency is perceptible in the fine arts; so that, in spite of the imaginative and the humorous, by which that character is distinguished, Scotland has been barren of caricaturists. From the time of Hogarth to that of H. B., England has so plentifully abounded with such artists as to be eminently the land of caricature delineation; but Scotland, with all its shrewd observation, its perception of the ludicrous, and quiet love of fun, which constitute the chief elements in this department of pictorial art, has as yet produced no specimens of it except those of poor Walter Geikie—the very man, too, be it observed, from whom, on account of his physical disqualifications, productions of this kind were least to be expected.

Walter Geikie, whose droll and homely sketches are to be found upon the table of every Edinburgh drawing-room, was the son of Mr. Archibald Geikie, perfumer, and was born in Charles Street, George Square, Edinburgh, on the 9th November, 1795. Before he had completed his second year, he was attacked by a dangerous ear disease; and although he recovered, it was at the expense of being deaf and dumb for life. It was too much the fashion at this time in Scotland to consider *dumbies* as incapable of education, so that they were generally allowed to go at large, and vegetate as they best might; but happily, Walter was the son of a pious and intelligent father, who had a better sense of his paternal responsibility: he taught his bereaved boy the alphabet, so that the latter not only learned to read, but to understand what he read. Writing and arithmetic followed, in which Walter showed himself an apt scholar. When he had thus acquired the rudiments of education, it happened, fortunately for him, that Mr. Braidwood, the successful teacher of the deaf and dumb, was invited to Edinburgh, to open an institution there, and Geikie became one of his earliest pupils. In this new school the boy's proficiency was so rapid that he was soon employed as a monitor. He showed also that he was no mere common-place learner, for he was in the practice of writing down extracts of the passages that best pleased him in the authors whose works he perused. While he was thus storing his mind with knowledge, and qualifying himself, notwithstanding his defects, for a life of usefulness, his path was determined.

While yet a child, he had been in the practice of cutting out representations of the objects that struck him on paper; afterwards he had attempted to portray them with chalk on floors and walls; and rising higher still in pictorial art, he at length betook himself to the use of the pencil. He did not, however, satisfy himself, like other young sketchers, with merely copying the pictures of others: instead of this, he would be satisfied with nothing short of the original object; and therefore he often roamed about the suburbs of Edinburgh, or among the fields, transferring into his note-book whatever most pleased his fancy. This was the form of language in which he found he could best express himself, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that he should cultivate it so carefully. At the age of fourteen he was sent to learn drawing by regular rule, under Mr. Patrick Gibson, and such was his progress, that in 1812 he was admitted a pupil of the Academy of Drawing, established for the encouragement of Scottish manufactures, where he had for his preceptor Mr. Graham, the teacher of Allan and Wilkie.

By this course of training the future profession of Walter Geikie was confirmed. He was to be an artist; and it remained to be seen in what department his excellence was to consist. It was not certainly in painting, for he soon discovered that his attempts in oil were decidedly inferior to those of others in warmth and harmony of colouring; and although his "Itinerant Fiddlers," "All Hallow Fair," and the "Grassmarket," now in the collection at Hopetoun House, were the best specimens of his painting in oil, they scarcely exceed the efforts of a mere fourth-rate artist. It was in sketching that he best succeeded, while the subjects of his preference were not the beautiful or the sublime, but the homely and the ludicrous. He would rather sketch a pig-sty than a palace, and an odd face had more attraction in his eyes than all the ideal beauty of the Venus de Medicis. It was upon this predilection that he acted. He hunted about in quest of singular visages, at which, with his ready pencil, he would take a flying shot as he passed along the street; and as such commodities are by no means scarce in Edinburgh, his collection was soon both rich and various. This kind of sportsmanship, however, was not without its dangers, for those who were best fitted for the artist's purposes were generally the least disposed to have their effigies perpetuated. One amusing incident of this kind is related by his biographer. Geikie had become desperately enamoured of the turned-up nose, rhinoceros upper lip, and pot-belly of a porter of the Grassmarket, and longed to appropriate them in such a way as not to impoverish their lawful owner. But the porter, who had seen his hungry look, and suspected his purpose, had continued to dodge him, until one day he found himself all but fixed upon the artist's paper. Enraged at the discovery, he stormed, swore, and threatened; but Geikie, who was in ecstasy with his rich attitudes, and could not hear the threats, continued the drawing, until he saw his model rushing upon him like a maddened bull in the arena. He took to his heels, but was so hotly pursued that he had to take refuge in a common stair; and the porter, thinking that his tormentor was housed, resolved to await his coming forth. Geikie, in the meantime, who was watching every movement through a dingy window in the stair, contrived to finish his sketch, and crown it with the last touch. But how to get out when his work was finished! This seemed beyond the power of strategy, for there stood his merciless enemy on the watch; and there he remained for hours. Some lucky chance at last called away the bearer of burdens; and Geikie stole from his concealment when he found the

coast clear. He had caught the porter, and saved his own bones. The fastidious object of his sketch forms a conspicuous figure in the group of the "Street Auctioneer."

The mirthful spirit of the artist, which drew him so powerfully to congenial subjects, was not confined to drawing; it found vent also in buoyant mimicry, in which he could act the droll characters of his daily search, as well as draw them. In this way, though deprived of the power of utterance, he could deliver jokes that set the company in a roar. It is gratifying also to add, that with all this mirthfulness there was a soundness of moral principle and depth of religious feeling within him that aimed at nobler ends than the harmless amusement of society. From infancy he had received a religious education, and it was all the more endeared to him, perhaps, from the difficulty which he must have found in acquiring those spiritual ideas of which he saw so few visible symbols. Sacred and sincere, indeed, must be the devotion of the deaf and dumb! He was also eager to impart what he had learned, and therefore, with two friends under the same bereavement as himself, he established a religious meeting of the deaf and dumb, to whom, on the Sabbaths, he preached and expounded by signs. After Geikie's death this interesting congregation was kept up by a worthy successor, who, we believe, still continues the good work which the artist so laudably commenced. After an uninterrupted course of good health, a short illness of a few days occurred, under which Geikie died, on the 1st of August, 1837. He was buried in the Greyfriars' church-yard. Of his productions it is unnecessary to enter into farther analysis, as these, ninety-four in number, illustrative of Scottish character and scenery, have been published in one volume, and are familiarly known to almost every class. They are also accompanied with explanations, and a biographical introduction by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, from which the foregoing facts have been chiefly derived.

GILFILLAN, ROBERT.—This amiable poet of domestic life, and popular song-writer, was born in Dunfermline, Fifeshire, on the 7th of July, 1798, and was the second of three sons. His father was a man of respectable condition, according to the reckoning of the times in provincial towns, for he was a master weaver, and kept several looms in full employment. His mother, who died in 1844, was justly characterized as "a woman of high intellectual powers, and one who, belonging to the middle classes of society, was distinguished by high literary acquirements, united to a modesty that rather fostered the talents of others than exhibited her own." Can we easily imagine a poet of good, current, lasting songs, born in a loftier position, or independent of such a maternity? Like most bards, and especially of this particular class, Robert Gilfillan's natural tendency was called forth in early life, under the pressure of a stirring public impulse. While still a boy, he had joined a group of urchins like himself, to make merry during the Christmas holidays with the sport of *guising*, or *guis-arding*—an old Saxon revel, scarcely yet disused in Scotland, but which is now generally supplanted by the drawing-room amusement of charades; and while employed in this merry street masquerade, instead of confining himself to the hundred-year-old hackneyed stanzas about Alexander the Great and Galatian, he chanted a song of his own composition on the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, at that time a recent event, and by which the sympathies of every cottage in Scotland had been roused into full native vigour. Young Gilfillan on this occasion received more than the usual poet's meed of pence and praise from the goodwives of Dunfermline, who listened at their doors in silent admiration.

After this sudden outburst of rhyme, a long interval succeeded: school-boy trials, and the succeeding cares and difficulties of apprenticeship, are generally sufficient to banish the muses for years, if not for life; and Robert Gilfillan, who at the age of thirteen removed with his parents to Leith, was employed during a seven years' service in the unpoetical occupation of hammering tubs and barrels, having been bound apprentice for that period to a cooper. Although he manfully endured this probation, he abandoned the trade of a cooper as soon as his term of indenture had expired; and returning to Dunfermline in 1818, he was employed for nearly three years in the superintendence of a grocery establishment. Here his first love returned upon him in full vigour, and his attempts in song-writing were accompanied with the work of self-improvement, which he prosecuted not only by general reading, but associating with the young men of his neighbourhood who were like-minded with himself. In this way, not only his acquired knowledge, but his conversational power in the use of it, made him distinguished in Dunfermline society, and caused him to be regarded as one whose future career would surpass that of his companions. After this he again settled in Leith, where he was first employed in the warehouse of a firm of oil and colour merchants, and subsequently in that of a wine merchant, as confidential clerk, until 1837, when he was appointed collector of the police rates at Leith, which situation he held till the close of his life.

In this way Mr. Gilfillan held onward in his course, and fulfilled his mission as a useful member of society; but as a poet he had continued during his several changes of store-keeper, clerk, and tax-gatherer, to labour for a wider sphere and a more permanent memorial. The first earnest of this he enjoyed in the popularity of his songs, which, although still unpublished, were circulated over the whole of Scotland, and sung not only at public festivals, but also at social and domestic meetings. How was it possible, under such circumstances, to resist the temptations of the press? It speaks much, however, for his self-denial, that he did not yield until he had attained the matured reflective age of thirty-three, and when his songs had stood the test of years. In 1831, he became an author, by publishing a small volume of about 150 pages, under the title of "Original Songs," which he dedicated to Allan Cunningham, himself, next to Burns, the prince of Scottish song-poets. So successful was this appeal to public approbation, that in 1835 he brought out a new edition, increased by fifty additional pieces; and soon after its appearance, a public dinner was given to him in the Royal Exchange, Edinburgh, and a massive silver cup presented to him on the occasion, thus inscribed:—"Presented to Mr. Robert Gilfillan, by the admirers of native genius, in token of their high estimation of his poetical talents and private worth. Edinburgh, 1835." In 1839 he published a third and still larger edition of his original volume, sixty new songs being added to the collection; and by this completed work he will continue to hold an honoured place in the third rank of Scottish song-writers—Burns being of the first and standing alone, and Hogg and Cunningham being taken as the representatives of the second. In addition to those warm, but simple and narrowed home affections, which formed the chief themes of his lyrics, and in the delineation of which he has not often been surpassed, there is a moral purity in the songs of Gilfillan in which he has very seldom been equalled. But how, indeed, could it be otherwise, when we take into account the ordeal to which he submitted them? "It was his practice," says his biographer, "to read to his mother and sister his songs as he wrote them; and he was entirely guided by their judgment

regarding them." This was better still than the housekeeper of Moliere! One circumstance connected with this gentle home tribunal of criticism first gave him the hope that fame was within his reach. He was reading his "Fare thee well, for I must leave thee," when his sister, and a young lady, a cousin of his own, who was present, were so deeply affected, that they burst into tears. After such an incident, some of our readers might wish to know the song: it is as follows:—

"Fare thee well, for I must leave thee,
But, O! let not our parting grieve thee;
Happier days may yet be mine,
At least I wish them thine—believe me!

"We part—but, by those dew-drops clear,
My love for thee will last for ever;
I leave thee—but thy image dear,
Thy tender smiles, will leave me never.

"O! dry those pearly tears that flow—
One farewell smile before we sever;
The only balm for parting woe
Is—fondly hope 'tis not for ever.

"Though dark and dreary lowers the night,
Calm and serene may be the morrow;
The cup of pleasure ne'er shone bright,
Without some mingling drops of sorrow!

"Fare thee well, for I must leave thee,
But, O! let not our parting grieve thee;
Happier days may yet be mine,
At least I wish them thine—believe me!"

The rest of the incidents in Mr. Gilfillan's tranquil life scarcely require commemoration. Independently of his devotion to poetry, which was his master affection, he took pleasure in the various departments of light and every-day literature, and was a frequent contributor to the "Edinburgh Journal," and the "Dublin University Magazine." Although he continued to the end of his days a bachelor, he was not the less subject to painful bereavements, and these, too, at that period of life when the affections are most confirmed; for his mother died in 1844, and his sister in 1849, and thus the voices that had hitherto cheered him onward were no longer heard. His own death occurred on the 4th of December, 1850, and was occasioned by a stroke of apoplexy. His remains were buried in the church-yard of South Leith, where a monument, by the subscription of his admirers, has been erected to his memory.

GILLESPIE, REV. THOMAS, D.D.—Was born in the parish of Clossburn, Dumfries-shire, but in what year we have been unable to ascertain. He received the rudiments of education at the celebrated seminary of Wallacehall, in his own native parish, and afterwards went through the curriculum of the Dumfries Academy, a place noted for its excellence among the educational establishments of Scotland. Having been designed for the church, Mr. Gillespie enrolled as a student in the University of Edinburgh; and after having been distinguished in the Divinity-hall by his talents and scholarship, was licensed as a preacher, and a few years afterwards was presented by the United College, St. Andrews, to the parish of Cultra, in the presbytery of Cupar-Fife. In this ministerial charge he was the immediate successor of the Rev. David Wilkie, father of the cele-

brated painter ; and on taking possession of his manse, he was grieved to find that, in the process of cleaning and white-washing, the sketches with which Sir David Wilkie, when a little boy, had covered the walls of his nursery, were remorselessly swept away. To a man of Gillespie's taste and enthusiasm, it seemed as if his entrance into a peaceful home had been preceded by an onslaught of the Vandals ; but after settling in Cults, he made many inquiries into the early history of Sir David, which he communicated to Allan Cunningham, the artist's eloquent biographer. Over the portal of the manse, also, in imitation of Gil Blas, he afterwards carved that couplet of the Latin poet—

“Inveni portum, spes et fortuna valote ;
Sat me lusistis, ludite nunc alios.”

This final good-bye to hope and fortune, however, was somewhat premature ; for having been appointed assistant and successor to Dr. John Hunter, professor of Humanity in St. Andrews, whose daughter Mr. Gillespie had married, he relinquished the ministerial charge of Cults, and became a resident in the ancient town of St. Andrews.

In his capacity of a country divine, and afterwards as a professor, Mr. Gillespie was distinguished by superior talent, both as an able writer, and ready eloquent speaker. His chief work was a volume of sermons on the “Seasons ;” but his contributions to some of our best newspapers and journals, both in prose and verse, showed how high a rank he might have attained as an author had he devoted his labours to this department. But his productions through the press were the light buoyant sallies of an occasional hour of leisure, as a relief from more important occupations, rather than serious and continued efforts ; and as such they were read, admired, and forgot, amidst the gay sparkling literature of the hour to which they were contributed. It was in the pulpit, as an eloquent, persuasive divine, and in his university chair, as an effective teacher of classical literature, that his whole energies were thrown forth ; and when he died, a blank was left both in presbytery and college, which his learned and reverend brethren felt would not soon be filled up. Dr. Gillespie's death, which was sudden, occurred at Dunino, on the 11th of September, 1844. He was twice married, and his second wife was daughter of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, formerly minister of Cupar, and sister of the Right Hon. Lord John Campbell.

GILLIES, JOHN, LL.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., member of many foreign societies, and historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland. The many literary titles of this erudite and once popular historian, evince the high estimation in which he was held by the learned men of his day. He was born at Brechin, in the county of Forfar, on the 18th of January, 1747. Although of a family belonging to the middling classes, he was not its only distinguished member, as one of his younger brothers became an eminent lawyer at the Scottish bar, and finally attained the rank of Lord of Session. John Gillies was educated at the University of Glasgow, and there he so highly distinguished himself by his classical attainments, that, before he was of age, he was appointed to teach the classes of the Greek professor, who had been laid aside by old age and infirmity. Instead of waiting, however, for those turns of fortune that might have elevated him to the chair which he had filled as deputy, he repaired to London, for the purpose of devoting himself to authorship. Before he settled down in the metropolis, he resolved still further to qualify himself for his future occupation by the study of the living languages ; and for this purpose he took up his residence for

some time on the Continent. Upon his return he was engaged by the Earl of Hopetoun to accompany his second son as travelling tutor; and as it was necessary that he should relinquish certain profitable literary engagements into which he had already entered, before he set out with his pupil, he was remunerated for the sacrifice by the Earl in 1777, who settled upon him a pension for life. But in the year previous his young charge died abroad; and a few years afterwards he was induced to undertake the charge of two other sons of the Earl, who were about to travel on the Continent—one of them being John, afterwards Sir John Hope, and finally Earl of Hopetoun, distinguished by his military achievements—the other, Alexander, afterwards Sir Alexander Hope, lieutenant-governor of Chelsea Hospital. During the interval that elapsed between his first and second tutorship, and when no such interruption was anticipated, he had commenced the purposed business of his life in earnest, by publishing his first work. This was the "Orations of Lysias and Socrates, translated from the Greek, with some account of their Lives; and a Discourse on the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Chæronea," 1778, 4to. About the same time he received the diploma of LL.D., the first of his literary distinctions.

On returning from the Continent, when his office of travelling-tutor had ended, which it did in 1784, Dr. Gillies resumed those labours which were so congenial to his tastes and habits, and which were now continued to the end of a very long life. His previous duties had not only furnished him with such a competence as to make him independent of the many painful contingencies to which authorship as a profession is subject, but had closely connected him with the Hopetoun family, to whose early patronage and continuing kindness he was wont to attribute much of the happiness by which his tranquil course was enlivened. Two years after his return to England, he published the first portion of the work by which he is best known, entitled the "History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests, from the earliest accounts till the Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East; including the History of Literature, Philosophy, and the Fine Arts," 2 vols. 4to, 1786. This work, which was continued in a second part, was so acceptable to the scholars of Germany, that a translation of it into German was published at Vienna in 1825, while at home it was so popular that it went through several editions. Time, however, which has so much diminished the lustre that invested the literature and science of the last century, has not spared his history any more than it has done the more distinguished productions of Hume and Gibbon; and Gillies, the once distinguished historian of Greece, is now subjected to an ordeal through which few of his contemporaries have passed unscathed. Newer and juster views, the fruit of a more ample experience and sounder philosophy; a more extensive knowledge of Grecian history and antiquity, and a more rigid and severe taste in historical writing, by which the present day is in the habit of judging the labours of the past, will no longer be satisfied with any history of ancient Greece that has as yet been produced. But, notwithstanding the faults that have been objected to the work of Gillies under this new and improved school of criticism, it was certainly a most useful production in its day, and well worthy of the approval with which it was welcomed by the learned; so that, notwithstanding the complaints that have been made of the dulness of his dissertations, the pomposity of his style, and the occasional unfaithfulness of his translations, we have still to wait for a better history of Greece. By a curious

coincidence, the first part of the work, and the first volume of "Mitford's History of Greece"—two rival publications upon a common subject—were published during the same year.

The rest of the life of Dr. Gillies presents few incidents for the biographer. In 1793 he succeeded Dr. Robertson as historiographer royal for Scotland, a sinecure office, to which a salary of £200 per annum is attached. He was also elected a member of several societies in our own country, as also a corresponding member of the French Institute and of the Royal Society of Gottingen. In 1794 he married. His various publications continued to appear at distant intervals, until the debility of old age compelled him to lay aside his pen; and, having done enough for fame and fortune, he retired in 1830 to Clapham, near London, where the rest of his life was passed in tranquil enjoyment, until he died, at the age of ninety, without disease and without pain. This event occurred on the 15th of February, 1836.

Besides his writings which we have already specified, Dr. Gillies published:—

1. "View of the Reign of Frederic II. of Prussia, with a Parallel between that Prince and Philip II. of Macedon," 1789, 8vo.
2. "Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, comprising his Practical Philosophy, translated from the Greek; illustrated by Introductions and Notes, the Critical History of his Life, and a New Analysis of his Speculative Works," 1797, 2 vols. 4to.
3. "Supplement to the Analysis of Aristotle's Speculative Works, containing an account of the Interpreters and Corrupters of Aristotle's Philosophy, in connection with the times in which they respectively flourished," 1804, 4to.
4. "The History of the Ancient World, from the Dominion of Alexander to that of Augustus, with a Preliminary Survey of Preceding Periods," 1807-10, 2 vols. 4to. This was afterwards reprinted in 4 vols. 8vo, as the "History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests, Part II.," 1820.
5. "A New Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric, with an Introduction and Appendix, explaining its relation to his Exact Philosophy, and vindicating that Philosophy by proofs that all departures from it have been deviations into Error," 1823, 8vo.

GORDON, REV. ROBERT, D.D.—This acute original thinker and eloquent preacher was born in Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, on the 5th of May, 1786. His early opportunities for obtaining a superior education appeared certain, as his father, a man of considerable natural endowments, as well as high religious worth, was parochial schoolmaster at Kirkland of Glencairn. This prospect, however, was apparently extinguished when Robert was about six years old, by the death of his father; but it often happens that such a bereavement, instead of discouraging, only braces a mind of native energy, and fits it for future excellence by a stern apprenticeship of effort and self-reliance. Besides this, he still possessed an able guide, so far as his school-boy studies and the bias of his mind were concerned, in his surviving parent, of whom he was the only son; a woman characterized in her limited circle by strong intellect, as well as pious principles. How Robert availed himself of these advantages was well attested by the fact, that when he had scarcely reached his sixteenth year he was appointed by the heritors of Kirkland to the office of parish teacher, which his father had occupied. Not only the excellence of his scholarship, but also the steadiness and energy of his character, must have been well established, when they were allowed

to outweigh such an immaturity in point of years. The choice was justified ; for though so young, he conducted himself in such a trying position with the steadiness and gravity of matured manhood ; and his pupils, several of whom were older than himself, regarded him not only with affection, but deep, dutiful respect.

As it was to the office of the ministry that the wishes of Robert Gordon had been directed, he did not long remain in that of a schoolmaster. Attendance at the university was necessary, and he repaired to Edinburgh, where, like many of those who have become the most talented divines of the day, he supported himself during his course of study at the university by the scanty resources of tutorship ; and thus fought his way onward, step by step, until he reached the Divinity-hall. In this rough fashion not a few of the ablest linguists, as well as profoundest thinkers, of our church are formed for active service. A situation as tutor in Perthshire occasioned his removal from Edinburgh, and the prosecution of his theological studies at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he enrolled as a student in divinity in 1809, and at the age of twenty-three. At this period, also, he was a member of the Theological Society, composed of theological students of the college, and there formed acquaintanceships with several who afterwards became distinguished ornaments in the church, and with whom his intercourse continued till the close of life. His appearances as a student at this period are thus described by one of the members. He "soon attracted much attention by his power of reasoning and of expressing his thoughts in nervous language. In fact, there was a general reluctance to encounter him in argument, or to take the opposite side of a question to that which he supported. He manifested both a great facility in dealing with principles, and a great acuteness in detecting the fallacies of an opponent. Still, his example unquestionably exercised a very salutary influence in stimulating the other members to prepare themselves on questions to be discussed, so as not to treat them in a superficial manner, as they were aware that their reasonings and averments would have to undergo a sifting process. His manner of debating, too, characterized by great fairness, tended much to correct a habit into which young controversialists are apt to fall, viz., that of triumphing in small advantages, and of substituting empty declamation for argument." While such was his intellectual character, his moral deportment was in admirable coincidence and harmony. The same commemorator of his early days thus continues :—"Modesty was a quality by which he was eminently characterized at the time of which we speak. He could bear his part well in general society, but he always showed much deference to his elders, especially if they had other claims to respect. His early friends will remember that he used to manifest the deepest abhorrence of anything in the shape of falsehood, mean selfishness, and hypocrisy, and a most withering contempt of all false and hollow pretensions." In what strong relief all these qualities of his youth were brought out when Dr. Gordon entered into public life, can be well remembered by those who enjoyed his society, and now deplore his recent departure.

The attendance of Mr. Gordon at the Divinity-hall extended over five sessions, partly at the University of Edinburgh, but more especially at Aberdeen ; and with the study of theology, that of the exact sciences occupied much of his attention. It was to these, indeed, that his original bias tended, and their study influenced his intellectual character both as a scholar and theologian. He cared little for the produce of imagination, and would at any time have preferred a

problem to a poem: instead of being contented to see an idea looming in the distance and through the mist, and taking it upon such doubtful security, he must needs gauge it in all its length, breadth, and thickness, before he could be satisfied. It was no wonder, therefore, that he was so impassive to transcendentalism, and that in after years he characterized one of Coleridge's marvellous monologues, to which he had listened with a countenance of mathematical severity, as "all buff." This intellectual tendency had made him a close and accurate meteorological observer; had enabled him to discharge successfully the duties of a factor as well as tutor to one of his employers, and had pointed him out as the fittest person to write the articles, "Geography," "Euclid," and "Meteorology," in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. It was also these powers of calculation, combined with capacity for the multifarious details of business, that procured for him the tempting offer of an important situation in the East India House. But all these capacities he devoted exclusively to the service of the church, and they were manifested not only in his mode of teaching as an investigator and expounder of the lessons of Divine truth, but the efficiency with which he managed those financial operations connected with the church's welfare that were committed to his care.

The first public situation which Robert Gordon held was that of master in the Academy of Perth; but not long after, he was appointed minister to the parish of Kinfauna, Perthshire. In this rural charge he remained only four years, having been called in 1820 to the old chapel of ease in Buccleuch Street, Edinburgh; and soon after to the *quoad sacra* church of Hope Park, which was built for him. His arrival in Edinburgh produced an unwonted stir, and he was soon one of the most popular and highly-valued preachers of the day. At this no one was so astonished as himself: his innate modesty could not perceive wherefore he was so followed after; and while he shrunk from such popularity as a misplaced and uncertain liking, it only clung to him the more pertinaciously on that account. His preaching, indeed, was in a style that was all his own—it was religious truth in its own native simplicity and distinctness, enforced with all the impassioned earnestness of one pleading upon a life-and-death question—theological speculation without its coldness and abstraction, and oratory without its meretricious ornaments. Few could refuse to listen, or listening, fail to comprehend such preaching, although it so much transcended, both in expansiveness and depth, the usual standard of pulpit ministrations. A volume of these sermons, which he published, attested its true character, so that the work went through several editions, and is still prized as a standard production, while the most intellectual of the inhabitants of Edinburgh became part of his regular congregation. As might be expected, also, the diploma of doctor in divinity was speedily conferred upon him. In 1825 he was translated from Hope Park to the new North Church, and in 1830, to the High Church of Edinburgh.

During the whole course of Dr. Gordon's ministry, he was seldom to be found engaged in the controversies of church courts; but when it was necessary in any important question to express his sentiments, they bore the stamp of his reflective conscientious character, and were received with respect. Such was the case in 1829, when the great question of Catholic emancipation would not permit him to be silent, and when he also found himself compelled to dissent from most of his brethren. In spite of all the warnings of history to the contrary, the majority had persuaded themselves into the fond belief that Popery,

which must be all or nothing, would be contented with only a part; and that when its present demands were conceded, the question would be settled to all future time, and a vexatious controversy for ever laid to rest. His prophetic declarations upon this occasion, while they have been but too well justified by succeeding events, were very different from that uncharitable sweeping condemnation with which it is so much the fashion to condemn every item of Popery, and every individual holder of its tenets. Addressing the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who had for the most part become enamoured of the soothing system, he said:—"I know nothing in the history of Popery, and I have been able to discover nothing in the manifestations of its spirit, that will warrant me to hope that the removal of Catholic disabilities will induce the priesthood of the Romish Church to remove the seal which they have dared to put on the Word of God, and to permit us to carry the Bible, without let or hindrance, among the multitudes from whom they have hitherto excluded it. I give them credit for a deeper and a stronger attachment to their faith, than to suppose that any political boon, or, as they think it, any act of political justice on our part, will have any weight with them in rendering them more willing to see their flocks transferred to the guardianship of Protestant pastors; nor can I conceive that they will do otherwise than smile at our simplicity when we avow a hope, that by conceding to them the privileges which they now demand, we shall have disarmed their hostility to our tenets, and drawn them over to what they think our heresies and our delusions. I should be disposed to draw the very opposite conclusion. It is by their fidelity to their common cause—their determined, persevering, united efforts—such efforts as a religious union alone could make—that they have compelled Government to adopt the measures now in progress for conceding to them certain privileges. I say, *compelled*; for, after all the attempts to explain it away, this is in reality the acknowledgment of the highest political authority in the empire. And are they so unskilful either in spiritual or political tactics—so little able to avail themselves of the vantage ground on which this measure, if successful, will place them—as to be less careful of the union which has secured so important a step towards the attainment of what must be the wish and ultimate object of every consistent Catholic—the supremacy of their system?" Such were his sentiments upon the question of Catholic emancipation in 1829, and the events of the present day but too well attest their soundness.

After this decided stand, which Dr. Gordon made in opposition to the most esteemed and talented of his brethren, events succeeded of still more imperious urgency, which dragged him from his peaceful seclusion, and sent him into the arena. These were, the preludes to the disruption of the Church of Scotland, and finally the disruption itself. Still, however, his gentle spirit predominated, and throughout the storm of controversy that raged for years, his words were like oil upon the troubled waters when their commotion is at the fiercest. So high, however, was his intellectual standing, and so well understood the uncompromising conscientiousness of his principles, that this very gentleness which, in an inferior or doubtful person, might have gone for nothing, only seemed, in the case of Dr. Gordon, to give his opinions greater weight and ascendancy. The public, that looked on in doubt and uncertainty, were compelled to respect a cause which had such a man for its advocate, and even the wavering of his own party were confirmed, when they saw his hearty zeal in its behalf, and remembered his well-established character for wisdom, circumspection, and for-

bearance. Such was especially the case when they beheld him accompanying the Presbytery of Dunkeld to the bar of the Court of Session in 1839, to be censured for ordaining a minister to the parish of Lethendy in opposition to a civil interdict. In 1841 he presided as moderator of the General Assembly, and in this capacity it was his painful duty—from which he did not shrink—to depose the seven ministers of Strathbogie. In the same year, Dr. Gordon presided at the great meeting which was held on the 25th of August in the West Church, Edinburgh—a meeting limited expressly to those office-bearers of the church who approved of its late resistance to the civil power, and were willing to persevere at every hazard; and his address on that solemn occasion, to about twelve hundred ministers and elders assembled from every part of Scotland, while he announced the principles for which they were now called to contend, and his own settled resolution to maintain them at whatever cost or hazard, sunk deep into every heart. His next public appearance was at the convocation held at Edinburgh in November, 1842, in consequence of the judgment pronounced by the House of Lords on what was called the second Auchterarder case, in which it was declared, that the refusal of a people to a patron's presentee was not only no bar to his enjoying the temporalities of his parochial charge, but none also to his being ordained as minister of the parish. It was evident that the contest had come to such a height that a separation between church and state was inevitable, if each party still continued to hold by its respective principles, and accordingly the convocation was called for the purpose of considering whether, and in what manner, the separation should take place. These meetings extended over several evenings, and were held in Roxburgh church, where between four and five hundred ministers gave their attendance. It was at one of those meetings that a speech of Dr. Gordon made a solemn impression upon the hearts of his auditory; and in the course of it he so clearly defined and so distinctly announced the duties of a church thus circumstanced, that his statements form the best apology for the disruption that afterwards ensued. "I set out," he said, "with the principle, that the state, the supreme power in the state, has an absolute, uncontrolled, uncontrollable dominion over civil things. Civil rulers may exercise their power in a bad way—they may do what is clearly wrong; but theirs is the power, as an ordinance of God: to God they are responsible; but I, as a subject of the realm, am bound to obey them. In the next place, I hold that we have a certain connection with the state, in which connection a certain temporal thing is concerned. They were entitled to offer us these temporalities on any conditions they chose at first. In the same way they may come forward at any future period and say, 'We have changed our mind:' they may propound new conditions to us; and if we cannot agree to these conditions, they may take back the temporalities they gave us. But then it may be said, 'We are not come to that; the state does not insist yet on the conditions to which we object.' It must be admitted, however, that the judgment of the supreme civil court is a *prima facie* ground for the belief that the state regards these conditions as binding, and that these decisions, unless repudiated by the state, must be so interpreted. We don't need them to pass a new statute declaring what the conditions are. The statute, as interpreted by the supreme court, is virtually a new statute. It is thought by some parties that the ecclesiastical courts will succumb to the decisions of the civil, and therefore that the interference of the state will not be required; it is therefore our duty to go to the state, and say that we cannot and will not succumb. I

cannot understand how I, as an honest man, could retain my temporalities on other conditions than those on which they are offered me. A reverend gentleman in the house spoke of voluntarily abandoning the temporalities, and said that to do so would be to act at a disadvantage. Now, I do not go out of the Establishment voluntarily; I am forced to it by what is infinitely more terrible to me than the soldier's sword or the constable's baton—my own conscience. I am persecuted into it. You may talk of maintaining the people's privileges; I cannot maintain them at the expense of honesty. Some may think that the attachment of the people to our cause would be much stronger if they saw our ministers thrust out by violence, but that is not the sort of attachment we desire. We wish the attachment of men conscientiously holding our views, for that is the only kind of attachment which will stand the test to which our people may be exposed. Any feeling towards a minister arising from indignation at personal violence offered to him would be of very short duration."

Day by day events went onward until the moment of trial arrived. And would a disruption in very deed take place at last, and five hundred clergymen be found so true to their promise, and so self-denying, as to lay down their comfortable state endowments at the demand of what so many considered a mere abstract principle? No, it is impossible: martyrdom is only for a rough cheerless period of society, and not for the sleek comfortable days of this middle term of the nineteenth century in which our happy lot has been cast! So said statesmen; so said the well-endowed dignitaries of the Church of England; so said the moderate party of the Church of Scotland, whose violence had precipitated matters to this dangerous point. But it was not among them alone that there was either scornful scepticism or sympathetic doubt; for even among the most confirmed of the out-goers there was a painful apprehension that, even at the last moment, there might be a wavering among their ranks, and a falling away of many. Upon this point even Dr. Gordon too had experienced moments of gloomy anticipation, in which he feared that the promised disruption would finally dwindle down into a trivial dissent, whose testimony would be unheard or unnoticed. But still, the fact that he did not flinch for an instant in his purpose, whether he might be accompanied by many or by few, only places his high conscientious disinterestedness in a stronger and fairer light. To him, also, the sacrifice was accompanied with peculiar aggravations. The clerical charge he held, besides being one of the highest in Scotland, enabled him, from its being a collegiate one, to devote a considerable portion of time to his favourite studies; and he held also the lucrative office of collector of the Widows' Fund, to which he had been appointed in 1836. But high office, leisure, and emolument, were to be foregone for the labour and precariousness of a missionary life, burdened in his case by the growing infirmities of age, and the maintenance of a very large family of young children, who looked wholly to him for support, and whose interests would be deeply compromised by the sacrifice. But he rendered it cheerfully, and went forth with the rest; and perhaps, as his eye glanced backward at the long array of his brethren on their march to the new place of meeting at Tanfield, and contrasted their numbers with his previous doubts and misgivings, the devout joy of the triumph swallowed up all remembrance of the sacrifice. His speech at the new General Assembly of the Free Church gave full testimony to that effect; where, among other declarations, to which the assembled multitudes listened with breathless interest, he uttered these words:—

"Thank God, I breathe in a better atmosphere than I have done for years

back. I was not insensible to the taunts with which we were everywhere met—the taunt that, as honest men, we should leave the Establishment. It was very wearisome and fatiguing—very exhausting, even for the ablest of our men, to be day after day defending us and themselves from that charge. It was still more painful, perhaps, for many like me, who had not the power nor the qualifications to make that defence, to be remaining in silence, and hearing ourselves treated as men rebellious against the powers that be. We were all conscious of the injustice of this charge; we had the *mens conscia recti*, and that was our consolation. Still these trials were severe. But I feel now that *I am a free man*. Nay, Sir, I am not only a free man, but I am entitled to say to my adversaries, who have twitted me so often with dishonesty—and whatever they may think of the bearing with which I say it, I say it with a very humble heart, and full of gratitude to Almighty God—I can say to them, *I am an honest man*. I have given what ought to satisfy you at least that I am an honest man; I have sacrificed my all, except the promise of my heavenly Father, who will bring me support for myself and my children, through the beneficence of his own people who have been turned from darkness to light.”

This trust was not disappointed, and the remaining years of the life of Dr. Gordon were spent in domestic comfort, as well as public honour and usefulness. He threw himself into his new sphere of increased duties with all the ardour of his matured manhood, and the energy with which these were discharged showed little or no abatement of his former power. If any change indeed was perceptible, it was that his style of preaching betokened the purifying furnace of trial through which his mind had passed, for his sermons had an increase of apostolic simplicity and unctio, which made his pulpit ministrations even more effective than before. His studies also were more exclusively confined to his pulpit ministrations; and although he might have lightened these labours by accepting a colleague, he conscientiously persisted in encountering the same amount that fell to the lot of his younger brethren. His death, which occurred in Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, on the 21st of October, 1853, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his ministry, was occasioned by a stroke of paralysis.

Dr. Gordon was a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts; he was also one of her Majesty's master printers for Scotland. Besides the volume of sermons, and the articles in the “Encyclopedia Britannica” which we have mentioned, he published nothing; but from the care with which his discourses were written, a series of them have been deemed fit for the press, and are accordingly in course of publication, under the title of “Christ as made known to the Ancient Church,” and will be comprised in four octavo volumes.

GRAHAM, THOMAS, LORD LYNEDOCN.—This venerable warrior was descended from a common ancestor with the Dukes of Montrose. He was the third son of Thomas Graham of Balgowan, in Perthshire, by Lady Christian Hope, fourth daughter of Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun, and was born A.D. 1750. He had thus reached his ninety-fourth year when he died, a period of life which few who have undergone the hardships and privations of trying campaigns are privileged to attain.

Nothing in the early course of Thomas Graham indicated that he would become not only a soldier, but a skilful and successful one. By the death of his two elder brothers he became the heir and representative of the family; and by his marriage with Mary Cathcart, daughter of the ninth Lord Cathcart, his

affections were so completely occupied and his home endeared, that he had reached his forty-second year, with the character of an amiable country gentleman, whose highest object was the welfare of his tenants and the happiness of all around him. But all at once this tranquil happiness was brought to a close by the death of Mrs. Graham in 1792, after she had been married eighteen years; and her husband, who loved her with a surpassing affection, was inconsolable at her death. The bereavement was also still farther imbibited by the circumstance of their marriage having been without offspring, so that no child was left behind to cheer the solitude of his dwelling, and restore to him the look and accents of the departed. He felt as if he had sustained a loss for which nothing could compensate; but instead of having recourse to the miserable remedy of the suicide, he resolved at the age of forty-three to devote himself to a military life, where he might find, not a soldier's glory, for which at this time he cared not, but a soldier's early grave, the refuge best fitted for a weary and broken heart. Who would have thought that a feeling so tender and domestic was to produce the victor of Barossa? It is to this commencement of his military life that Sir Walter Scott so touchingly alludes, while describing the chief heroes of the peninsular war, in his "Vision of Don Roderick":—

"Nor be his praise o'erpast who strove to hido
Beneath the warrior's vest affection's wound,
Whose wish, Heaven for his country's weal denied;
Danger and fate he sought, but glory found.
From clime to clime, where'er war's trumpets sound,
The wanderer went; yet, Caledonia! still
Thine was his thought in march and tented ground;
He dreamed 'mid alpine cliffs of Athole's hill,
And heard in Ebro's roar his Lynedoch's lovely rill."

This choice of a military life was made after the consolations of travel had been tried and found ineffectual. The bereaved man had wandered through France; but neither its beautiful scenery, nor gay society, nor even the wild events of its Revolution, could abstract his mind from its own sorrows. He then became a pilgrim on the shores of the Mediterranean, and passed over to Gibraltar; and it was in the society of the officers there that his choice appears to have been first adopted. He offered himself as a volunteer to Lord Hood, then about to sail to the south of France, and by the latter he was received with welcome. At the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1793, Graham landed with the British troops at Toulon, and officiated there as extra aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave, the general in command. In the numerous encounters with the enemy that distinguished this memorable siege, the new volunteer threw himself among the foremost; and on one occasion, when a British soldier fell at the head of the attacking column, Mr. Graham snatched up the musket of the dead man, and took his place. When Toulon was evacuated by the British and Spanish troops, Graham, now a pledged soldier, returned to Scotland, and raised the first battalion of the 90th regiment, in which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel. With this corps he passed the summer of 1795, and was afterward transferred to Gibraltar, where he received the rank of full colonel in the army. The dulness of garrison duty, however, within a sphere so limited as the rock of Gibraltar, was only fitted to aggravate the disease for which Graham was seeking relief, and therefore he sought and easily obtained permission to join the Austrian army, at that time employed against the French on the Rhine. Here

he bore a part in the disastrous campaign of the summer of 1796, and was afterwards shut up with the troops of the brave old Wurmser in Mantua, which was invested by the Man of Destiny, at that time known by the simple title of General Bonaparte. The siege was so tedious, that here Colonel Graham fell into the same malady that had compelled him to abandon Gibraltar; and he resolved to leave the garrison in which he served as a volunteer, for more stirring occupation. For this purpose he silently left Mantua on the night of the 24th of December, 1796, amidst a torrent of rain, and accompanied by only one attendant. It was a truly perilous exit; for all the water communications with the lake formed by the Mincio, on which Mantua is situated, were in possession of the French, so that the lake itself was to be crossed in a boat, which stranded repeatedly upon the little islands, and was every moment in danger of swamping. After groping through the midnight darkness and storm, the landing-place was at last reached; and here a new series of dangers commenced. The country round was trodden into mire and studded with swamps, among which the travellers floundered at hap-hazard; and when morning dawned, Colonel Graham, who wore his British uniform, was in danger of being arrested or shot by the enemy's pickets. He concealed himself during the day, and travelled only at night, until he reached a river, for the crossing of which he hired a boat, intending to risk a landing, where he would probably have been shot by the French sentinels, had they not been previously driven from their posts by a heavy rain. He thus crossed the river in safety, and finally reached the army of the Archduke Charles, where he continued till the pacification of 1797 by the treaty of Campo Formio, in which France dictated to Austria the terms of a conqueror and master. This termination of the war in Germany released Graham from his temporary volunteer service, and accordingly he returned to his old quarters in Gibraltar.

The rapid current of events quickly called Colonel Graham once more into the field. His first employment was in the reduction of Minorca, under the command of Sir Charles Stuart, who bore honourable testimony to the valuable services of his brave assistant. After this island had been won, Graham repaired to Sicily, and was of such use in retarding the falling fortunes of the king and queen of Naples, that they testified their sense of his merits by repeated acknowledgments. He was afterwards employed in an event of the highest importance to the naval supremacy of our country: this was the reduction of Malta, which had been basely surrendered to Napoleon by the Maltese knights, on the 10th of June, 1798, while he was on his way to the conquest of Egypt, and which he had garrisoned as a key to the future conquest of India. The strength of fort and rampart was such, that had the gates been merely kept shut, even Napoleon himself, at the head of his victorious legions, could never have entered, so that he only became master of the place because there were traitors within to open them. An assault upon this mighty ocean fortress was hopeless, garrisoned as it was by such troops; and nothing could be done except by a blockade from the land, while our ships of war intercepted every aid that could arrive to it by sea. In consequence of this decision, Graham, now holding the local rank of brigadier-general, invested the approaches to Malta with a small army, sufficient for skirmish and observation. This slow process was successful, for after a blockade of two years, Malta surrendered to the British in September, 1800. It is true, indeed, that this cession was made to Major-General Pigot, who had previously arrived with reinforcements, and by whom the account of the surrender was sent home; but the despatch bore full testimony to the able and

successful arrangements of Graham during the protracted siege. No sooner had the latter arrived in England at the termination, than he found the whole land ringing with the Egyptian campaign, and the successful struggles by which the military glory of Britain, so long held in abeyance, had been recalled to its standards. But what chiefly concerned Graham personally, was the gallant deeds of his own regiment, the 90th, which, in conjunction with the 92d, had formed the advanced guard of the British army on their landing at Aboukir. Eager to join his brave fellows, and partake of their glory and danger, he bade a hurried adieu to England; but on arriving in Egypt he found his presence unnecessary, as the whole French army had capitulated. He therefore left the country for a tour through Turkey, during which he stayed for some time at Constantinople, and afterwards, in consequence of the peace of 1801, he visited France and its capital. The next movement of Graham was to Ireland with his regiment, where he continued from 1803 to 1805, at the end of which, his place of military service was transferred to the West Indies. Here he remained three years, but without that active employment which still continued to be the breath of his nostrils. At last a prospect of occupation occurred in 1808, in consequence of Sir John Moore being appointed to the command of the armament sent to the coast of Sweden; and having obtained permission to accompany Sir John as aide-de-camp, Graham joined the expedition. It ended, as is well known, in nothing, owing to the Quixotic freak of the Swedish king, who, instead of acting on the defensive, and fighting for life itself in his own territories thought of nothing less than rushing full tilt against the whole power of Napoleon; and on the refusal of Moore to co-operate with him, by taking the Russian empire as his share of the universal *melee*, he attempted to throw the British general into prison, so that the latter was obliged to hasten home with his reinforcements, without the opportunity of striking a single stroke. In this way Graham, after all his hopes, had only obtained a short trip to the Baltic, which was anything but a pleasant one. On the return of Sir John to England, he was forthwith commissioned upon his eventful expedition to Spain, and to that land of stirring adventure and change Colonel Graham accompanied him, still acting as aide-de-camp. He therefore participated in all the disastrous incidents of that most unfortunate campaign, without the opportunity of obtaining a commander's full share in the glory with which its termination was crowned. But all that could be won by an aide-de-camp he merited and secured. He was affectionately remembered by Moore in his dying moments at Corunna, and one of the last questions of the expiring hero was, "Are Colonel Graham and all my aides-de-camp well?" The services indeed which the colonel rendered to the army during its retreat were such, that Sheridan thus described them in his place in Parliament: "In the hour of peril, Graham was their best adviser; in the hour of disaster, Graham was their surest consolation." After a long and laborious run before the French columns in hot pursuit, Graham embarked with the army at Corunna, after it had dealt such a parting blow at the pursuers as sent them reeling backwards. But he was soon to return to Spain under better auspices, and there achieve a victory that should be wholly his own.

This change, so gratifying to the heart of Colonel Graham, did not occur until nearly three years afterwards. During the interval, however, he was again to be connected with those unlucky expeditions of which, it might be thought, he had already obtained somewhat more than his proper quota. This was the Walcheren expedition, in which he held the command of a division,

having been previously raised to the rank of major-general. It was a useless and hopeless campaign against malaria and pestilence ; so that, during the siege of Flushing, he was attacked by the prevalent fever that so fearfully thinned the British ranks, and obliged to return home. On his recovery he was sent, with the brevet rank of lieutenant-general, to Spain, to take the command of the British and Portuguese troops in Cadiz. The situation of this important city was extremely precarious. Being one of the few remaining bulwarks of Spanish independence, its possession was keenly contested by the French ; and a large army under Soult had so closely invested it, that its capture was daily anticipated. One of those rapid transitions, however, with which that war so largely abounded, averted the downfall of the city. This was the invasion of Extremadura, conducted by Soult in person at the head of 20,000 of the besieging force, leaving Victor, with the rest of the French army, to continue the siege. Soult's brief campaign was one of the most brilliant episodes of the Spanish war : he captured Olivenza, routed Mendizabal at Badajoz, and obtained that powerful fortress by surrender ; after which successes he prepared to return in all haste, and resume the siege of Cadiz. But during his brief absence Graham had been as alert and ready for action as himself ; and, judging the opportunity best fitted for the purpose, he resolved to raise the siege by an attack upon Victor. With the French and Portuguese under his command, he embarked on the 21st of February, 1811, and landed at Tarifa on the day following. They then pushed forward on their route for Algesiras ; but as they had no better road than a mule path, the artillery had to be transported by sea ; and, owing to contrary winds, which delayed its arrival, the attack, which was intended to be made on the 28th, was delayed for a week longer. And even this was the least of Graham's difficulties in advancing to action. On the 29th he was joined by La Pena, with 10,000 Spaniards, who forthwith took the command, as if for the sole purpose of showing his utter incapacity to hold it. Graham too soon discovered the impracticability of such a colleague, who sometimes unreasonably hung back, and at other times drove on, as if the French were already defeated and in full flight. So inexplicable, indeed, were his movements, that the British officers suspected that treachery had been ingrafted upon his natural stupidity and obstinacy. At length the combined but ill-assorted army reached the memorable heights of Barossa, upon which Victor sallied from his lines to give them battle. Even at that critical moment La Pena must needs blunder, by requiring Graham to alter his excellent position from the heights to the wood of Bermeya, towards the sea-coast ; and when the latter, in compliance, commenced the movement, La Pena immediately followed, thus leaving the ridge of Barossa, the key of the army's position, undefended. Victor, who saw this change with astonishment, instantly moved his force of 9000 French veterans and fourteen guns to take possession of the heights. They advanced to the onset, and meeting with some of the Spanish troops who had not yet left the hill, they attacked and routed them in an instant. The fugitives directed their headlong flight to the British division, already in motion among the difficulties of the wood, and reported that the heights were won, and the enemy at their heels. Justly might Graham at this moment have left his worse than useless allies to their fate, and thought only of a retreat. But this neither suited his daring spirit nor warm-hearted generosity. With his own forces, upon which he could fully rely, he resolved to give battle to the enemy, notwithstanding the advantages of their new position, and the suddenness of

the emergency. His artillery, consisting of ten guns, was instantly wheeled round, and opened upon the enemy, already descending from the hill ; while his infantry, hastily formed into two columns, was led to the charge. Under these untoward circumstances was commenced the battle of Barossa.

It is not our purpose to enter into the minute particulars of this conflict, forming, as it did, only an episode of the war. The double onset of the British lines was made with the utmost bravery, and met by the French with equal courage, so that for some time the hot and heady charges that were given and received on either side kept the battle in suspense over the whole field. At length a gallant charge of one of these lines, composed of the 87th and 28th regiments, broke the division of General Laval, that was opposed to it, and drove it back so successfully that they were unable to rally ; while the capture of two guns and an eagle attested the success of the victors. The other British column, under General Dilkes, was equally brave and equally fortunate. This division, composed of the Guards and two regiments, mounted the brow of the hill, and was met half-way by the columns of General Ruffin. A desperate struggle ensued, that ended in the French being driven up to the height, and afterwards down the slope on the opposite side, with great slaughter. It was in vain that they rallied with their wonted promptitude, and united their two discomfited divisions into a single compact body, for the purpose of abiding a new conflict : as fast as they formed, the well-served British artillery tore their ranks, the 200 German horse in the British service followed the cannonade with a decisive charge, and at last the enemy yielded, with the loss of six guns and more than 2000 killed and wounded. And now Cadix might have been saved had La Pena been true to his country. But this miserable imbecile, or traitor, or both, with his army of fully 13,000 Spaniards, looked on and did nothing ; while Graham, with his small force of 4000 infantry and 200 cavalry, bore the whole brunt of the battle, and achieved a glorious victory. Even when the French were put to flight, had La Pena let loose upon them his 800 dragoons and powerful horse artillery, he might have completed the defeat of the enemy without their chance of rallying. But as it was, Victor fell back upon his old position undisturbed, and the return of Soult, which occurred soon afterwards, made the battle of Barossa useless, except as a stirring incentive to the British during the rest of the campaign. Thus had the Spaniards served Moore, and Wellington himself, as well as Graham ; let their generous allies fight as bravely as they pleased, they still in every case refused to co-operate, or even did their best to make the services of their defenders useless. Was it Spanish pride, that could endure no glory but its own ; or Spanish bigotry, that would not suffer a heretic general to be victorious ? In the meantime, General Graham, unable to follow up his success, or even to maintain his ground single-handed, was obliged to return to the Isle of St. Leon. But this retrograde movement, which he made after victory, as well as his advance before it, were equally commended by Wellington, who was too well able, from his own experience in Spain, to judge of the necessity of such seemingly inconsistent changes. The affair of Barossa was also justly appreciated by Parliament, so that the thanks of both houses were voted to the general and his gallant companions in arms. In the reply of the veteran on this occasion, after stating his high estimation of the honour conferred on him, he added : " I have formerly often heard you, Sir, eloquently and impressively deliver the thanks of the house to officers present, and never without an anxious wish that I might one day receive this most

enviable mark of my country's regard. This honest ambition is now fully gratified, and I am more than ever bound to try to merit the good opinion of the house."

Having been relieved from his military duties at Cadiz in the summer of 1811, General Graham joined the army under the Duke of Wellington, where he was appointed second in command. But a complaint in his eyes, by the use of a telescope in the glaring atmosphere of Spain, and frequent writing by candle-light, obliged him to quit the army while it was employed in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. He returned to England, where he obtained a cure, after which he rejoined the British forces in the Peninsula, and commanded the left wing at the battle of Vittoria. His able services during this conflict were honourably mentioned in the despatch of Wellington on the occasion. After this he continued to share in the subsequent movements of the campaign, and commanded at the siege of St. Sebastian, where he obtained possession both of the town and castle—the former by capitulation, and the latter by storm. He also commanded the left wing of the British army when it crossed the Bidassoa into the territory of France, upon which he succeeded in obtaining a footing after a desperate resistance. In the following year (1814) he was appointed commander of the British forces in Holland, where he made an unsuccessful siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. It was no wonder that he should have failed against a fortress so strong, and so bravely and skilfully defended. Sir Thomas Graham had already shown that he was a brave, prompt, and effective soldier, fitted for all the emergencies of an open field, and able to win a decisive victory, even under untoward circumstances. But he had not learned war as a science; and to conduct such a siege would have required a thorough acquaintanceship with the whole mathematics of military service. It was only by such men as Bonaparte or Wellington that Mantua could have been reduced to a surrender, or Badajoz taken by storm. His failure at Bergen-op-Zoom, however, neither detracted from the estimation in which he was held, nor the public honours that awaited him; and in May, 1814, after having received the thanks of Parliament, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lynedoch, of Balgowan, in Perthshire, with a pension of £2000. He had previously, during his course of service, been created a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and afterwards a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He was also a Knight of the Tower and Sword in Portugal. But the return of peace also brought with it an honour of an exclusively peaceful character; this was the Lord Rectorship of the University of Glasgow, which was conferred in full senate, by the votes of the enthusiastic students, upon the chivalrous victor of Barossa.

The course of Lord Lynedoch's life was now one of unobtrusive tranquillity. He had sought nothing more than forgetfulness amidst the din of war, and found in it rank and fame. In 1821, he received the full rank of general; in 1826, he was removed to the colonelcy of the 14th Foot; and in 1829, he was appointed governor of Dumbarton Castle, an office with a salary of only £170 attached to it, but still it has always been accounted of high honour in our country. "Sir William Wallace," said the valet of the Duke of Argyle, "was governor of it in the old wars of the English, and his grace is governor just now. It is always intrusted to the best man in Scotland."

The latter part of the life of Lord Lynedoch, as the infirmities of old age grew upon him, was spent chiefly in Italy; but the visit of her Majesty Queen

Victoria to his native country so roused the ardour of the loyal old hero, that he hastened from Switzerland to pay his respects to her in person, in the ancient capital of her Scottish ancestors. This was the last public event of his life. He died at his residence in Stratton Street, London, on the 18th of December, 1843, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. As he was childless, his titles became extinct with his death, and his estates were inherited by his nephew.

GRANT, Mrs., of LAGGAN.—This amiable and talented authoress, in whom a manly intellect was so happily blended with woman's gentleness and delicate feeling, was born at Glasgow, on the 21st of February, 1755. Her father, Duncan M'Vicar, was an officer in the British army; her mother was a descendant of the ancient family of Stewart of Invernahyle, in Argyleshire. A short time after she was born, her father accompanied his regiment to America, with the intention of settling there; and soon after this was effected, he was joined by his wife and infant daughter, the latter being scarcely three years old. As New York, the place of her residence, was at this time thinly peopled, especially in the rural districts, where the settlers dwelt miles apart from each other, the early opportunities of education which Mrs. Grant possessed were such as to furnish little hope of future literary excellence. But, happily for her, she had a careful instructor in her mother, besides whom she had no other; and she so profited by domestic tuition, that she quickly learned to read, and before her sixth year was finished had perused the whole of the Old Testament, and was well acquainted with its contents. It was the home teaching of Scotland at this period, transplanted into the back settlements of America. She also acquired about the same time a knowledge of the Dutch language, in consequence of residing for some months with a family of Dutch colonists. Not long after, she learned to write, solely from chance lessons which she received in penmanship from the sergeant of a Scottish regiment. Observing also the eagerness of his pupil for knowledge, he presented her with an appropriate Scottish soldier's gift—even the poem of "Wallace," by Blind Harry, the patriotic Homer of Scotland. The quaint and almost forgotten language in which this work is written, as well as its obsolete orthography, would have made it a sealed book to the half-Scottish half-American little maiden, had it not been for the kindness of the sergeant, who taught her to decipher the words, and understand the meaning of the old heroic minstrel. From this source she mainly derived that enthusiastic love of her native country which, ever afterwards, was a distinguishing feature in her character. Another epic, which had a still higher influence in the formation of her mind, followed. This was Milton's "Paradise Lost," which she received from an officer in her father's regiment, who marked her love of reading; and this sublime production, which has daunted so many youthful readers at the outset, she studied with eagerness and pleasure. The expansion of intellect and improvement of taste which the careful perusal of the great English bard imparted to her conversation were so conspicuous, that the most distinguished of the New York society, young though she was, were proud to cultivate her acquaintance. The chief of these was Madame Schuyler, a lady with whose excellence and worth she afterwards made the British public sympathize, in her "Memoirs of an American Lady."

We have already mentioned that Mr. M'Vicar, the father of Mrs. Grant, had repaired to America chiefly for the purpose of becoming a settler in one of its colonies. This he effected in the state of Vermont, where he received a grant of land, to which he made large additions by purchase, while his worth and

ingratiating manners secured him the esteem not only of the settlers, but the native Indian tribes. But this career of prosperity was interrupted by ill health, so that he was obliged to return to his native country in 1768, bringing with him his wife and daughter, the latter having now reached the age of thirteen. A few years after, Mr. M'Vicar was appointed barrack-master of Fort Augustus. Unfortunately for him, he had been obliged to leave America in such haste as to have no opportunity to dispose of his property; and on the breaking out of the American war, the whole was confiscated by the new republican government, so that he was reduced to his limited pay of barrack-master. At the same station of Fort Augustus was the Rev. James Grant, the military chaplain, an accomplished scholar of amiable manners, and connected with some of the most respectable families of the district, between whom and Miss M'Vicar an acquaintanceship, of kindred disposition, ripened into permanent affection. Soon afterwards they were married, in consequence of the appointment of Mr. Grant, in 1779, to the parish of Laggan, in Inverness shire, a union from which the subject of our memoir received her literary name and designation.

On becoming the wife of a Highland minister, Mrs. Grant addressed herself in good earnest to become useful among the people of the parish. But a difficulty opposed her progress at the outset. Although a Mac, she was not a Highlander; and she was ignorant of Gaelic, that most essential of passports to a Highland heart. Undeterred, however, by an obstacle which few Lowlanders have ever surmounted, she commenced the study of that most difficult of all languages, and made such progress, that she was soon able to converse readily with the people in their own beloved tongue. In the woods of America she had been early trained to the labour of such a necessary task, by mastering the old Saxon Scotch of Blind Harry's "Wallace." Along with the Celtic language she studied the manners and feelings of the Highlanders, and was soon able to identify herself with the people among whom her lot had been cast. They, on their part, appreciated these kind labours of a stranger with true Highland enthusiasm, and felt that she was their own countrywoman in heart and soul, as well as in tongue and lineage. In this way tranquil years passed on in Laggan, and Mrs. Grant, the mother of twelve children, seemed little likely to commence a new life as an authoress, and obtain distinction in the literary world. But such was her *weird*, and stern misfortune and necessity were to be the instruments of its accomplishment. After four successive deaths in her family, her husband died, and she was left a helpless widow, with eight children dependent upon her exertions, while the manse, so long her happy home, must be left to the successor of her husband. In taking account also of her worldly affairs, she found that she was worth less than nothing; for the scale of Highland and clerical hospitality by which her household had hitherto been regulated, rather exceeded than equalled the amount of stipend, so that she found herself somewhat, though not greatly, in debt. But strong in her trust on that Providence which had been with her from earliest infancy, she confronted her new necessities, and her first step was to take charge of a small farm in the neighbourhood of Laggan. This expedient soon failed, and in 1803 she removed to the neighbourhood of Stirling. Something was necessary to be done, and that speedily; but the great difficulty lay in the choice. At last the friends of Mrs. Grant suggested the idea of authorship. She had written many verses which they had greatly admired in manuscript, and these, collected into a printed volume, might be equally acceptable to the public at large. Her poems, indeed,

had been hasty productions, of which she had hitherto made little account, and it was with no little urgency that she was persuaded to try the experiment of publishing. She had not even a collection of these poems in her possession, as she generally sent them to her numerous correspondents, without retaining a copy for herself. The work was announced to be published by subscription, and so well did her friends exert themselves, that three thousand subscribers were soon procured. This publication, which appeared in 1803, although favourably received by the public, was scarcely calculated to make any lasting impression, or stamp the character of Mrs. Grant as a genuine poetess, and accordingly, it has long ago disappeared from among those works of the period which the present generation cares to read. Its profits, however, enabled her to discharge those debts which had been contracted at Laggan, and which had continued to weigh heavily upon her mind. But fresh domestic difficulties occurred. Her eldest daughter had been sent to Bristol for the cure of a consumptive complaint, which was attended with heavy expense; and one of her sons, who had got an appointment to India, through the kindness of her friend, Mr. Charles Grant, chairman of the India House, required the necessary outfit. The success that attended the former attempt suggested a fresh trial of authorship, and Mrs. Grant was advised by her friends to collect and publish her letters. These had been written in the manse of Laggan to her correspondents over a course of years, and were so full of Highland scenery, character, and legends, expressed in the happiest style of epistolary composition, that, even with the omission of whatever was private or confidential, it was thought they would form an acceptable work to the reading public. She allowed herself to be persuaded, and the result was her best and most popular production, the "Letters from the Mountains," which was published in 1806. This work went through many editions, and was so justly appreciated among the talented and influential men of the day, as to procure for her many distinguished friends, among whom may be enumerated Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls, Sir William Farquhar, and Bishop Porteous. The only other works which she subsequently published, were "Memoirs of an American Lady," and "Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland;" and it is enough to say, that they did not detract from the reputation she had already won. Her productions are thus characterized by Sir Walter Scott, a judge well fitted to estimate them:—"Her literary works, although composed amidst misfortune and privation, are written at once with simplicity and force; and uniformly bear the stamp of a virtuous and courageous mind, recommending to the reader that patience and fortitude which the writer herself practised in such an eminent degree. Her writings, deservedly popular in her own country, derive their success from the happy manner in which, addressing themselves to the national pride of the Scottish people, they breathe a spirit at once of patriotism, and of that candour which renders patriotism unselfish and liberal. We have no hesitation in attesting our belief that Mrs. Grant's writings have produced a strong and salutary effect upon her countrymen, who not only found recorded in them much of national history and antiquities, which would otherwise have been forgotten, but found them combined with the soundest and the best lessons of virtue and morality."

In 1810, Mrs. Grant removed from Stirling to Edinburgh, where she resided during the rest of her life. But still domestic calamities pursued her, and all her children died successively, except her youngest son, who survived her. In

the midst of these afflictions, so trying to the affectionate heart of a widowed mother, it is gratifying to add that she was not wholly unaided in the struggle. Her talents and her worth had surrounded her with a circle of affectionate friends who, in the worst hour, were ready not only with sympathy but aid. In 1825 an application was made in her behalf for a pension from government, subscribed by Sir Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, Mackenzie (the Man of Feeling), Sir William Arbuthnot, Sir Robert Liston, and Principal Baird, which was cordially granted by George IV. At first it amounted to only £50, but was afterwards increased to £100 per annum; and this, with several legacies from deceased friends, enabled her to spend the last years of her life not only in comfort, but comparative affluence. But those for whose sake she most wished to have obtained it, had one by one been snatched away! She was also, at this period, an invalid; for, nearly seven years before the pension was obtained, she had a fall in descending a stair, from the effects of which she was confined almost wholly to her house during the rest of her life. But still she was resigned and even happy, and her frequent study of the Bible during her hours of leisure, as well as her conversation with intimate friends, betokened the sure foundation upon which her comfort was established. Thus she lived, honoured and beloved, till the eighty-fourth year of her age, when a cold, that increased into influenza, ended her days on the 7th of November, 1838, and her remains were interred in the new cemetery of the parish church of St. Cuthbert's. Her chief talent lay in conversation, in which she was unrivalled, and hence the high fame she acquired among the literary circles of the day. That voice has passed away of which her works were but an echo, and thus the works themselves are now rated beneath their merits. Still, however, the "Letters from the Mountains" will continue to attest the high talent of their writer, and be perused with pleasure and profit.

GRANT, SIR WILLIAM.—This able lawyer was a descendant of the Grants of Beldornie, a sept of the parent clan. His father, originally a farmer, was afterwards appointed collector of customs in the Isle of Man, an office which he held till his death. His son William, the subject of this notice, was born at Elchies, in Morayshire, in 1754, and was educated at the grammar-school of Elgin, along with his younger brother, who afterwards became collector at Martinico. William did not forget, when he had attained distinction, the place in which he had been trained, so that, thirty years afterwards, when the school was to be rebuilt, he was one of its earliest contributors. His education was completed at the old college of Aberdeen. In the choice of a profession, which was that of law, he was directed by the advice of his uncle, a merchant, who had been so successful in England, that he was enabled to purchase the estate of Elchies, on which he had been born. After the usual course of study at Aberdeen had been finished, William Grant went to London, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn. At the age of twenty-five, although he had not yet been called to the English bar, he was considered competent for colonial practice, and was appointed attorney-general of Canada. In this new office his professional talents soon brought him into universal esteem. He also showed that he understood the adage of *tam Marti quam Mercurio*; for on Quebec being besieged by the American army under Montgomery, the attorney-general became a bold and active captain of volunteers, and continued to perform military duty until the siege was ended. After this he continued to discharge his civil duties for several years; but finding the position of Canada too critical, as well as

colonial practice too limited for his aspirations, he resigned his office of attorney-general; and on returning to London, he entered with full ardour upon a more favourable arena in the courts of Westminster, after having been commissioned in 1787 to practise as an English barrister. His commencement, however, was so unpropitious as to bring all his energy and resolution into full exercise, and nerve them with double vigour; for however eminent he had been at the bar of Quebec, he found himself an utter stranger in London, while his shy retiring habits gave little promise that such a difficulty would be easily obviated. Fortunately, one of those incidents occurred by which the reserve of modest merit is often broken through, and the possessor dragged out to the sphere which he ought to occupy. Mr. Grant, after having gone the circuit year after year without obtaining a single brief, happened at length to be retained in some appeals from the Court of Session in Scotland to the House of Lords. He discharged his duty so ably on this occasion, and evinced such legal talent and force of reasoning, as to extort the highest approbation from the stern Lord Chancellor Thurlow, a man by no means profuse in compliments. He eagerly asked the name of the speaker; and having learned it, he said to a friend, "Be not surprised if that young man should one day occupy this seat." It is thought that Grant might ultimately have fulfilled this prediction had he been willing to encounter the responsible duties of the chancellorship. Thurlow's approbation did not end in empty compliment; he interested himself in the fortunes of the talented but unbefriended stranger, and in consequence of his advice, Grant left the practice of common law for that of equity, as being better fitted for his studies and habits.

From this period his career was one of honour and success, and his first step was a seat in parliament, having been returned for Shaftesbury at the general election in 1790. On entering the House he made no attempt to attract notice as a political orator; his *forte* rather lay in private consultations and committees, where his sagacity, good sense, and extensive knowledge, were seen and appreciated by the most eminent of his colleagues. Of these especially was Mr. Pitt, of whom he was a firm and effective supporter. On one occasion, in the year 1791, his colonial experience was of great service to the premier. The subject before the House for discussion was a new code of laws for the province of Canada, and on this question he enforced the proposal of Pitt with such incontrovertible arguments, drawn from his own knowledge and practice as attorney-general of the colony, that even Fox was gratified, and all but convinced. Another occasion on which Grant signalized himself in the House of Commons occurred in the following year, when he defended the measures of the ministry upon the subject of the Russian armament. At the beginning of 1794 he was returned to parliament by the borough of Westminster, and at the same time appointed solicitor-general to the Queen, and in 1796 he was chosen knight in parliament for the county of Banff. In 1798 he was appointed chief-justice of Chester, and in the year following he was made solicitor-general, on which occasion he received the usual honour of knighthood. In 1801 he was honoured with his last and highest promotion of master of the rolls. This steady rise was owing, not to his support of the predominant party in the state, but the high character which he established for himself as lawyer and judge, in which all parties coincided. He continued to represent the county of Banff until 1812, when the Parliament was dissolved, and to fill the office of master of the rolls till 1817, at which period he was anxious to retire from public life

before age had unfitted him for its duties, or impaired his intellectual vigour. On the 24th December, therefore, he fulfilled this resolution of self-denial by tendering his resignation of the mastership, on which occasion he received, among other well-deserved eulogiums, the following from the bar of the court, through Sir Arthur Pigott, the speaker appointed for the occasion:—"The promptitude and wisdom of your decisions have been as highly conducive to the benefit of the suitors, as they have been eminently promotive of the general administration of equity. In the performance of your important and arduous duties, you have exhibited an uninterrupted equanimity, and displayed a temper never disturbed, and a patience never wearied; you have evinced an uniform and impartial attention to those engaged in the discharge of their professional duties here, and who have had the opportunity, and enjoyed the advantage of observing that conduct in the dispensation of justice, which has been conspicuously calculated to excite emulation, and to form an illustrious example for imitation."

During the sixteen years of life that were still continued to him, Sir William Grant abstained from public affairs, devoting himself wholly to intellectual recreations, and the society of congenial company, in the neighbourhood of Walthamstow, and during the two last years of his life at Barton House, Daulish, the residence of his sister, the widow of Admiral Schanck. He was never married. His death occurred on the 25th of May, 1832, when he had reached the age of seventy-eight years.

H.

HALDANE, JAMES ALEXANDER.—It seldom happens that when a great work is to be accomplished, in which co-operated effort is required, the same family which produced the originator should also furnish the effectual seconder of the movement. From this general rule the family of Haldane of Airthrey is an honoured exception; for while Robert was building churches over the whole extent of Scotland, his younger brother, James, was ably preparing the way by preaching in its most destitute localities, and reviving that religious spirit which had sunk for years into cold apathy and indifference.

James Alexander Haldane was born at Dundee, on the 14th of July, 1768, within a fortnight after the death of his father. He also lost his mother when he had only reached his sixth year. After attending the High School of Edinburgh with his brother, and distinguishing himself not only by holding a high place in the class, but being foremost in every school-boy frolic and adventure, he went to the university, which he attended for three years, until he had completed his studies in Latin and Greek, and gone through the curriculum of logic, metaphysics, mathematics, and natural philosophy. Having thus established a sufficient groundwork for future self-improvement, and made a tour through the north of England, he joined, at the age of seventeen, the service for which he had been early destined, by entering as midshipman the Duke of Montrose, East Indiaman, bound to Bombay and China. This department of naval life ranked high at a period when the monopoly of the East India Company, and the risks of war, made their ships be manned and armed on a scale approaching that of the royal navy. By a family compact it had also been agreed, that as soon as he was qualified by age and service, he should succeed to the command

of the Melville Castle, which had been provided with an *interim* captain, under the prospect of this succession. This was a most unhopeful commencement of the course that afterwards awaited him, but the alternatives that were proposed against his going to sea were equally so. His female relatives wished that he should complete his studies, and take orders in the Church of England, in the hope of attaining a bishopric; while the great Croesus of the day, Mr. Coutts, the warm friend of Haldane's father, to whom he had been greatly indebted, offered to take the youth into his own counting-house as a partner, and make him a thriving banker. Who would have thought that a youth with so many tempting offers at the outset of life, would finally prefer to them all the lowly office of an itinerant preacher!

On embarking upon his new profession, James Haldane devoted himself earnestly to his duties, ambitious to become an active seaman and skilful navigator. Besides this, his love of general literature, which his previous education had imparted, made him spend all his leisure time in the study of the best authors, of which he carried with him a well-stored sea-chest, and in this way he was unconsciously training himself to become an able theological writer and eloquent preacher. He made in all four voyages to India and China; and during the long period over which these extended, he saw much of the variety of life, as well as experienced the usual amount of hair's-breadth escapes so incidental to his profession. During his third voyage, in which he was third officer of the Hillsborough, and while returning from India, he encountered one of those dangers so frequently attendant upon the naval and military service, and so unreasonable and contemptible in services so full of perils of their own, because so utterly gratuitous. One of the passengers, a cavalry officer, notorious as a quarrelsome bully and a good shot, picked a quarrel with James Haldane, and at the mess-table threw a glass of wine in his face, which the other retorted by throwing a decanter at the captain's head. A challenge was inevitable, and Haldane was the more ready to receive it, as, from his antagonist's reputation as a duellist, a refusal might have looked like cowardice. Such was that law of honour, now so generally abjured, which in a few years more will evaporate amidst the general derision. No opportunity occurred of a hostile meeting until the ship arrived at St. Helena, where the parties went ashore early in the morning, to settle their quarrel by mortal arbitration. James Haldane who, the night before, had made his will, and written a farewell letter to his brother, to be delivered in the event of his death, raised his pistol at the signal, and inwardly ejaculating, with fearful inconsistency, the solemn prayer, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," he drew the trigger. The pistol burst, and one of the splinters wounded him in the face, while his opponent, whose weapon at the same instant missed fire, declared himself fully satisfied. Thus terminated the first and last affair of the kind in which he ever was engaged. His amiable disposition, as well as his acknowledged courage and spirit, alike prevented him afterwards from giving or receiving injury.

After his fourth voyage was completed, James Haldane, now at the age of twenty-five, was found fully competent to assume the command of the Melville Castle; and on passing his examinations he was promoted to that office in 1793. After his appointment, he married Miss Joass, only child of Major Joass, fort-major of Stirling Castle, and niece of Sir Ralph Abercromby. As his fortune was still to seek, while his bride was a young lady of great attrac-

tions and high prospects, some demur was made by her relatives to her marriage with a younger brother; but the mutual affection of the pair at last reconciled all parties to the measure. At the end of the year, the Melville Castle was at Portsmouth ready for an Indian voyage, in company with a large fleet of Indiamen lying at the same port, and Haldane, having parted with his wife at London, had already joined his vessel, when delays occurred that prevented its sailing till some months afterwards. While the fleet was thus lying at anchor, a mutiny broke out in the Dutton, which grew to such a height that the chief officers were obliged in terror to abandon the ship; and the crew, arming themselves with what weapons came to hand, threatened to sink every boat that came alongside to board them, or at the worst to blow up the ship, or carry it into a French port. In this state of wild uproar, Captain Haldane threw himself into one of the boats of the Melville Castle, and approached the Dutton, amidst the cries of "Keep off, or we'll sink you!" Undeterred by these threats, he boarded the hostile deck, cutlass in hand, relieved the remaining officers, who were about to be overpowered on the quarter-deck, and by his prompt decided measures so appalled the mutineers, that they were soon brought to a surrender. But while this was going on upon deck, a noise was heard below, and on learning the cause, he rushed to the powder magazine, which two men were about to enter, with a shovel-full of live coals, after having wrenched off the doors, swearing that they would blow the ship to heaven or hell, no matter which. He clapped a pistol to the breast of the most forward, and compelled him to stand; and ordered the crew to put the two offenders instantly in irons, which was done almost as rapidly as it had been commanded. The daring demeanour and prompt decision of the young captain of the Melville Castle so completely quelled the ship's company, and recalled their habits of obedience, that the chief mutineers submitted, and order was restored.

By this time Haldane had acquired a high character in his profession. His skill as a sailor, and his excellent qualities as an officer, had endeared him to seamen and passengers alike; his courage in trying emergencies had been well proved; while the political influence by which he was supported, not only through his friends at home, but in India, where his wife's uncle, Sir Ralph Abercromby, was commander-in-chief of the British army, insured him the speedy attainment both of rank and fortune. Such a consummation was also expected of him as a duty, both on the part of his wife's relatives and his own, who saw no reason why he should sink, with all his prospects and attainments, into the rank of an obscure bonnet laird, or idle country gentleman. And yet he had even already resolved to abandon the sea, and all its alluring advantages! The cause of this is to be traced to his early religious education, which had more or less clung to him in his after-career, so that in all he had undergone and enjoyed, as well as all that he hoped or feared, he had felt the contention of two hostile elements within him—he had been a man divided against himself. With an earnest longing that the spiritual should prevail, so that he might be renewed and sanctified, he felt withal as if such an end could not be attained in his present pursuits and occupations. But as this constituted the great turning-point of his life, it is right that we should hear his own account, which he has given in his manuscript memoranda in the following words:—"Some circumstances which took place tended, before I left the sea, to render me more circumspect; yet was my heart still unchanged. I lived on board ship nearly four months at Portsmouth, and having much spare time, and being always

fond of reading, I was employed in this way, and began, more from a conviction of its propriety than any real concern about eternity, to read the Bible and religious books, not only on the Sabbath, but a portion of Scripture every day. I also began to pray to God, although almost entirely about the concerns of a present world. During all this time I did not go on shore to public worship above once or twice, though I could have done so, and heard the gospel with the same form of worship (at Dr. Bogue's) as in Scotland. At length some impressions seemed to be made on my mind that all was not right; and knowing that the Lord's supper was to be dispensed, I was desirous of being admitted, and went and spoke with Dr. Bogue on the subject. He put some books into my hand on the nature of the ordinance, which I read, and was more regular in prayer and attending public worship. An idea of quitting the sea at this time was suggested, apparently by accident, and literally so, except in so far as ordered of God. The thought sunk into my mind, and although there were many obstacles, my inclination rather increased than abated. Being now in the habit of prayer, I asked of God to order matters so that it might be brought about, and formed resolutions of amendment, in case my prayer should be heard. Several circumstances occurred which seemed to cut off every hope of my being able to get away before the fleet sailed; yet the Lord overruled all to further the business about two days before it left England. A concern about my soul had very little influence in this step; yet I was now determined to begin to make religion a matter of serious consideration. I was sure I was not right. I had never joined at the Lord's supper, being formerly restrained partly by conscience, while living in open sin, and partly by want of convenient opportunities, and I had been prevented by my engagements in the week of quitting the sea from joining at Gosport, as I had proposed. However dark my mind still was, I have no doubt but that God began a work of grace on my soul while living on board the Melville Castle. His voice was indeed still and small, but I would not despise the day of small things, nor undervalue the least of His gracious dealings towards me. There is no doubt that I had sinned against more light than many of my companions who have been cut off in their iniquities, and that I might justly have been made a monument of his wrath."

The result of these reasons may be easily surmised, enforced as they were by the earnest entreaties of his brother Robert, who had also quitted the navy, and was about to devote himself to that career of religious usefulness by which his whole life was afterwards distinguished. James Haldane accordingly sold his interest in the Melville Castle for a sum that insured him a decent independence for life, bade adieu to the sea for ever, and, on rejoining his wife in Scotland, and establishing a peaceful home in Edinburgh, he became a diligent student in theology in the best sense of the term. It was in this way that both the brothers qualified themselves for their appointed work. In their case it was from no sudden fit of enthusiasm that they devoted themselves to a career which excited the wonderment of society, and that had to be persevered in through much scorn and opposition for years; on the contrary, they were led to the faith upon which they acted through a long course of inquiry; and this being attained, they were able deliberately to count the cost, and prepare themselves for the sacrifice. In this spirit, while Robert was earnestly straining every nerve to obtain the privilege of deportation and exile as a missionary, James was qualifying himself for the equally humble and self-denying duties of an itinerant preacher. Had such instances occurred in the Romish Church, they would

have been emblazoned as choice episodes in the *Acta Sanctorum*, if not exalted into full claims for canonization. The steps by which James Haldane was conducted to the "highways and hedges," he has thus detailed in language of straight-forward simplicity :—"For some time after I knew the truth I had no thoughts towards the ministry. My attention was directed to the study of the Scriptures and other religious books, for my own improvement, and because I found much pleasure in them. When I first lived in my own house, I began family worship on Sabbath evenings. I was unwilling to have it more frequently, lest I should meet with ridicule from my acquaintance. A conviction of duty at length determined me to begin to have it every morning ; but I assembled the family in a back room for some time, lest any one should come in. I gradually got over this fear of man ; and being desirous to instruct those who lived in my family, I began to expound the Scriptures. I found this pleasant and edifying to myself, and it has been one chief means by which the Lord prepared me for speaking in public. About this time some of my friends remarked that I would by and by become a preacher. A person asked me whether I did not regret that I had not been a minister ? which made a considerable impression on my mind. I began secretly to desire to be allowed to preach the gospel, which I considered as the most important, as well as honourable employment. I began to ask of God to send me into his vineyard, and to qualify me for the work."—While these wishes were thus forming and growing within his heart, events were occurring to draw them into action. He first confined himself to the silent distribution of tracts, and afterwards advanced to the visitation and establishment of Sabbath-schools, where a "word of exhortation" was expected as a matter of course ; and, finally, having accompanied John Campbell (his brother's friend) and another preacher to the large collier village of Gilmerton, where a preaching station had been established, he found himself drawn, in the course of necessity, to take his turn in that apostolic labour which he had already thus far countenanced and commended. He preached his first sermon on the 6th of May, 1797, and by that decisive act committed himself to the vocation in which he persevered to the end of his long-extended life.

After having continued to preach for a short time at Gilmerton, James Haldane's views extended over Scotland at large, so that he resolved to commence the work of an itinerant preacher in good earnest. But an ambulatory ministry and lay preaching—these are irregularities which only a very urgent emergency can justify ; and yet, perhaps, Scotland at this time needed them as much as England did the labours of her Wesleys and Whitefield. James Haldane also went forth, not as a minister, to dispense the higher ordinances of religion, but simply as an evangelist, to call men to repentance. This his first tour, in 1797, extended through the northern counties of Scotland and the Orkney Islands, and was made in company with Mr. Aikman, originally settled in a prosperous business in Jamaica, but now a student in theology, with the view of becoming a minister. They preached wherever they could find a place to assemble men together—in school-rooms and hospitals, at market-crosses, and in church-yards, and upon stair-heads—and assembled their auditories by announcing their purpose through the town-drummer or bellman. In this way they itinerated through Perth, Scone, Cupar, Glammis, Kerrymuir, Montrose, and Aberdeen. At the last-mentioned place Haldane had hearers in thousands, who were attracted by the novelty of a captain of an East Indiaman turning preacher. The tourists

then proceeded to Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness; and having learned that a great fair was soon to be held at Kirkwall, to which people were wont to assemble from every island of the Orkneys, they resolved to comprise this Ultima Thule of the modern as well as the ancient world—this remote nook, which even steam has as yet failed wholly to conquer—within the sphere of their operations. And miserable indeed was the spiritual state of the Orkneys at this time, where the ministers were so far removed beyond the ken of the General Assembly, that they might live as they listed; while the difficulties of navigation in the performance of their duties were so numerous, that they might leave as much undone as they pleased. Here, then, was the field for a devoted Christian, earnest in his sacred work, and fearless of wind and weather; and from Kirkwall, as his head-quarters, the bold sailor was ready to scud before the wind in an open boat, to preach the gospel at whatever island might most require his services. In some of these desolate places there had been no religious ordinances for several years; while in Kirkwall, where he and his fellow-traveller preached daily during the fair, they had congregations by the thousand. It was the old Scottish spirit of the days of Knox and the Covenant revived among a people who had long and most unjustly been neglected. After having thus visited the twenty-nine inhabited islands of Orkney, and sometimes preached three times a-day in their several places of labour, the tourists, in their return, crossed over to Caithness, and began to preach in its principal town of Thurso. On this occasion Mr. Haldane laboured alone, his companion having been disabled by an accident during six weeks of their stay in Caithness, and there his usual auditory numbered from 800 to 3000 persons. The next scene of his labours was the town of Wick, and here his auditories were equally large, and his labours as abundant. A note from his journal of proceedings in this place is applicable to many others which he visited in the course of his tour, and shows the necessity that was laid upon him to labour as he did. It is as follows:—

*“Lord’s-day, October 1.—*Preached in the morning to about 2500 people. Heard the minister, in the forenoon, preach from Matt. xxii. 5: ‘And they made light of it.’ He represented that men, in becoming Christians, first began to work out their own salvation, and that when God wrought in them, &c. He spoke much of the criminality of such as found fault with ministers, ‘who were,’ he said, ‘the successors of the apostles—the ambassadors appointed to carry on the treaty of peace between God and man!’ In the afternoon preached to about 4000 people, and took notice of what appeared contrary to the gospel in the minister’s sermon, himself being present.”

On the 11th of October, 1797, Mr. James Haldane left Wick, the very day on which his uncle, Admiral Duncan, gained the celebrated naval victory off Camperdown, and the firing of the guns was heard upon the coast of Caithness, while the nephew of the conqueror was preaching his farewell discourse in the market town. On his return from this evangelistic tour, Mr. Haldane preached at the different towns of his long route until he reached Airthrey, on the 7th November, having been employed nearly four months in this important mission, and undergone an amount of labour which only an iron constitution, animated by the highest sense of duty, could have endured. Although he preached almost daily two, and sometimes three times, he was no mere rhapsodist or declaimer, but a studious, painstaking preacher, anxious to instruct as well as persuade, and careful that the style of his message should correspond with its dignity and importance. “I and several other ministers,” thus writes the Rev.

Mr. Cowie, of Huntly, the Whitefield of the north, "heard Mr. Haldane on his late tour; and I confess, though I have been little short of thirty years a minister, have heard many excellent preachers, and laid my hand on many heads, I have very seldom heard anything so much to my satisfaction, and nothing that could exceed Mr. Haldane's discourses. I could even say more, but I forbear. *He carries his credentials with him, and needs not recommendatory letters.*"

This was but the first of a series of tours of a similar character, which were continued at intervals for years, not only in the north, south, and west of Scotland, but in England and Ireland, and which only ceased when the increase of a faithful ministry, and the general revival of a religious spirit, superseded the necessity of such itinerancy. They also abounded in striking incident, not only of bold adventure and fierce hostility, but of wonderful conversions from darkness and guilt to the light and holiness of a renewed life—cases by which the heart of Haldane was animated in a career otherwise so thankless and profitless. But these were only incidental advantages, compared with the influence of his labours upon the general change that was now at hand. The public attention was awakened to those great principles of religion which had been rapidly passing away, and the progress of that apathetic Socinianism arrested, which, in course of time, would have converted Scotland into a wholesale Geneva of religious doubt and indifference. Hume was already taking the place of Knox, while the theology of the pulpit was little more than the morality of Seneca without its depth, or the vague aspirations of Plato without their earnest, heart-stirring eloquence. And was it a small matter that Haldane should have been so influential in checking that downward progress which would have terminated in national degradation and destruction, and bringing back the spirit of the land to that Rock of strength from which it had so mournfully wandered?

While Mr. James Haldane was thus pursuing his course as an itinerating and lay preacher, events soon occurred by which the office of an ordained minister, and the superintendence of a regular congregation, were added to his employments. His brother Robert, after having failed in his attempt to establish a great Indian mission, was now employed in the opening of tabernacles and the extension of evangelical religion at home. It was natural that in such a work he should seek the able co-operation of his brother, and that, too, at Edinburgh, the metropolis and head-quarters of the new movement. The circus or tabernacle, a large place of worship capable of holding 2500 hearers, had been opened for this purpose, and on the 3d of February, 1799, Mr. James Haldane was ordained as its minister. It was opened upon those eclectic principles which Independency has constantly advocated; and the following extract from the account of Mr. J. Haldane's ordination will fully explain his views and purposes on entering into the solemn office. He "expressed his intention of endeavouring to procure a regular rotation of ministers to assist him in supplying the tabernacle. He declared his willingness to open his pulpit for the occasional labours of every faithful preacher of the gospel, of whatever denomination or country he might be. He signified his approbation of the plan of the church which had chosen him for their pastor, as being simple and scriptural, but disavowed any confidence in it as a perfect model of a church of Christ, to the exclusion of all others. He wished to remember himself, and ever to remind his hearers, that the kingdom of heaven was not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Finally, he declared that he meant not to confine his exertions to that church, but to devote a por-

tion of his time every year to the labours of itinerancy, to which he conceived himself, in the providence of God, to be especially called." He thus became the first minister of the first church formed among the new Congregationalist churches of Scotland—which, however needed at the time of their appointment, are now passing, and will soon pass away. A firmer Presbyterianism than before seems the inevitable result of every Scottish religious revival.

According to the promise made at his ordination, Mr. J. Haldane devoted a large portion of every summer to an extensive missionary tour. This continued till 1805, when the increase of his congregation in Edinburgh, as well as the renewed spirit of the public mind over the country, made such arduous exertions the less imperative. He still continued afterwards, however, to make short trips to those portions of the Highlands, and the north and west of Scotland, that were as yet the least accessible to the change; and wherever he came, his stirring eloquence was calculated to rouse the attention and win the hearts of those who listened. Few, indeed, were so well qualified to redeem the office of an itinerant preacher from the obloquy and contempt into which it had fallen; for, independently of his stalwart figure, and bold, dignified, gentlemanly bearing, that commanded the respect of every class, his station in society gave him weight among a people where the old feudal feelings were still a part of the national characteristics. What but love for their souls could induce such a one to undergo labours and hardships which even the love of gain could scarcely inspire among the poorest, and from which the stoutest would have recoiled? And was this worthy descendant of the good old barons of Scotland to be treated like a gaberlunzie preaching for pence, and looking to his hat or plate more carefully than to his text? "Captain Haldane is to preach"—"the son of the Laird of Airthrey is to give a sermon"—and the stair-head or hillock upon which the sermon was delivered, instead of lowering, only aggrandized the discourse. But who in Scotland so circumstanced, except himself and his brother, would have submitted to such a trying experiment?

The rest of the life of James Haldane, as an Edinburgh Dissenting minister, although it passed over such a course of years, may be briefly summed up. It was an occupation with which, however important in its bearing upon national character and events, the trumpet of fame or the pen of the historian is seldom troubled. When the whole world rings with some heroic and virtuous achievement, by which a Christian nation creates an important epoch, how seldom is it traced to that lowly and silent ministry in which it truly originated!

The first important event that occurred in Mr. Haldane's life as the minister of a settled charge, arose from the divisions in that party of which he was so important a member. While a religious body is small, with the whole world arrayed against it, there is neither time for discord nor motive for division, and in this very feebleness its strength mainly consists. But with its expansion grows security, which promotes dissension, until it falls asunder by its own weight. This dissension had now commenced among the Independent congregations of Scotland, and it was based upon the trying questions of ecclesiastical polity and discipline. It was agreed on all hands that the apostolic model was the only authoritative rule: but what was that model? Here every one had his own theory or interpretation. The frequency with which the Lord's supper should be administered, the mode of conducting their weekly fellowship meetings for social worship, and the amount of pastoral duty that might be conceded to gifted lay members in exhorting the church and conducting the public devo-

tions, were all severally and keenly contested as matters of religious, and therefore of infinite importance. To these, also, was added the question of Pædobaptism, in which Mr. James Haldane himself was personally and deeply interested. He had been anxiously studying the subject for several years, and after some time he announced to his flock, that "although his mind was not made up to become himself a Baptist, yet that at present he could not conscientiously baptize children." His mind was made up at last: he was baptized; but still his wish was that the difference of opinion should be no ground of disunion between Baptists and Pædobaptists. This, however, was too much to expect from any sect or class of Christians in the present state of human nature, and accordingly a disruption ensued in his congregation, of whom nearly two-thirds went away, some to the Establishment, and others to the two tabernacles in College Street and Niddry Street. By this change, also, the two Haldanes ceased to be the leaders of a sect which their labours had originated in Scotland, and their resources hitherto supported. As for James, he now ministered to a very limited congregation, and with diminished popularity, but his elevated generous heart could endure the change as far as it only affected himself. He saw that the good which he had sought to accomplish was in progress under other agencies; and he was content to be nothing, and less than nothing, if the gospel itself should become all in all.

In this way the days and years of James Haldane's life went onward. He regularly officiated to his own Edinburgh congregation, preached occasionally in the open air in its neighbourhood, and diversified his duties by journeys of similar usefulness to greater distances. He published several tracts upon the most important religious doctrines, which were widely circulated, and attended, it is believed, with much usefulness. He was also engaged as a controversialist, in which capacity he published a "Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ;" and when Mr. H. Drummond came to the rescue of his pastor, with his "Candid Examination of the Controversy between Messrs. Irving, Andrew Thomson, and James Haldane," the last replied with a volume of 277 pages. But controversy was not his congenial element, and Dr. Johnson would have rejected him because he was not a good hater. "I see many evils," he thus writes in a letter, "both at home and abroad, which I hope the Lord will correct; but I do not see anything which I can do, unless it be to live near to God, and to preach his gospel where I am placed in the course of his providence." In 1831 he published "Observations on Universal Pardon, the Extent of the Atonement, and Personal Assurance of Salvation." The next important event that occurred in his course was the decease of his brother Robert, whose death-bed he attended, and whose triumphant end he witnessed; and it was during the closing hours of his life that the dying man spoke affectionately to his wife of the great benefit he had derived from the sermons and publications of his brother James, from which, he said, he had derived more solid edification than from any others. He also spoke with fond affection of the complete harmony of mind and purpose that had subsisted between them from the beginning. It seemed as if, in the course of nature, the death of James Haldane must speedily follow, for he was now seventy-four years old, and had already outlived many of his early associates. But his term was extended eight years longer, and they were years not of inert senility, but active diligent exertion. In 1842 he published a treatise entitled "Man's Responsibility; the Nature

and Extent of the Atonement, and the work of the Holy Spirit; in reply to Mr. Howard Hinton and the Baptist Midland Association." In 1848 he reappeared as an author, by publishing an "Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians." Between these he also published two tracts on the important subject of the Atonement. Until he had nearly reached the age of fourscore, he was wont also, in addition to these labours, to conduct three public services every Sabbath. In 1849, having completed the fiftieth year of his ministry, his flock and the Congregationalists of Edinburgh agreed to celebrate the event by a jubilee, which they did on the 12th of April; and the meeting was attended by ministers of all denominations, who were thus eager to testify their love for such a venerable father in Israel. After this his life and labours were continued till 1851, when both were terminated on the 8th of February, in the eighty-third year of his age. His last illness was gentle and brief, and his death the death of the righteous.

HALDANE, ROBERT.—The family of Haldane had, for many centuries, been possessors of the barony of Gleneagles, in Perthshire, and were connected with some of the noblest houses of Scotland. As their name implies, they were of a Norse rather than Anglo-Saxon origin, and had probably emigrated from the Danelagh of England at, or soon after, the period of Alfred. Of the representatives of this family (Captain James Haldane of Airthrey, and Katherine Duncan, his wife and first cousin) were born two sons, Robert and James, the subjects of this and the previous notice, and a daughter, who died in childhood. Robert Haldane, the eldest of the family, was born, not in Scotland, but in London, on the 28th of February, 1764; but while still an infant, he became a resident in his ancestral country of Scotland, where his father died, in 1768. His widowed mother, the daughter of Alexander Duncan of Lundie, and sister of the illustrious hero of Camperdown, was eminent not only for gentleness and maternal affection, but ardent piety; and her religious instructions to her fatherless children, as well as fervent prayers in their behalf, were long after remembered by the objects of her pious cares. Never, indeed, is religious instruction so impressive, or perhaps so effectual, as when it issues from the lips of an affectionate mother to the child who is listening at her knee, and who will remember her words, let him wander where he may, or strive against them as he will. But brief was the period of her widowed life, for she died in 1774, when Robert had only reached his tenth, and James his fifth year, and the orphans were consigned to the guardianship of their relatives, by whom their education was carefully superintended. And that they were willing to learn was attested by the following incident. Having been instructed by their tutor in the mysteries of the ancient battering-ram, they resolved to try a practical experiment of its effects, by dragging the carriage of their uncle, Admiral Duncan, to the edge of a slope, down which it would rush by its own weight against a garden wall at the bottom. The carriage was accordingly wheeled up, and let loose; and the astonished admiral, who had been alarmed by the noise, came out only in time to find the vehicle fairly lodged in the garden, and the wall as effectually breached as if one of his own broadsides had been discharged against it.

Having thus made some progress in Latin and Roman antiquities, the two boys were sent to the High School of Edinburgh, where they were boarded with Dr. Adam, its rector, and had for fellow-pupils, John Campbell and Greville Ewing, the former the African traveller, and the latter the minister of the Independent congregation in Glasgow, men with whose labours the Hal-

danes were, in after-life, to be intimately connected. When the time arrived that they should choose a profession, the sea naturally presented itself, not only from the high naval reputation of their uncle, but the circumstance of their father having been captain of the *Duke of Albany*, East Indiaman, and on the eve of being elected an East India director when his unexpected death occurred. Besides this, their high family influence insured a rapid promotion, whether in the royal service or that of the East India Company. Robert accordingly was destined to the former, and James to the latter; and in 1780 the family separation commenced, by Robert's joining the *Monarch* at Portsmouth during that year. From this period we follow their respective careers.

On entering the naval service under such a commander as the future hero of Camperdown, Robert Haldane, now at the age of seventeen, was not likely to remain idle. After being a year in the *Monarch*, he was transferred to the *Foudroyant*, eighty guns, commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, and was present at the memorable night engagement with the *Pegase*, a French ship of fully greater force than the *Foudroyant*. In this battle, which was hotly maintained for three-quarters of an hour, Robert Haldane served his guns with the skill and coolness of a veteran, and in pointing them in the dark he persevered in using a lantern, although he thereby served as a mark for the enemy's rifles. His gallantry on this occasion obtained the approbation of his brave commander, who sent him on board the *Pegase* to receive its surrender; and on writing to Duncan, he congratulated him on the conduct of his nephew, and predicted that he would become an ornament to his country. On the return of the *Foudroyant* to Spithead, Robert Haldane spent much of his time at Gosport; and being there attracted by the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Bogue, originally a Scottish Presbyterian, but afterwards the pastor of an Independent congregation at Gosport, Robert Haldane not only had those religious impressions revived which had been implanted by his mother, but his bias directed in favour of Independency. At this time he also witnessed the loss of the *Royal George*. He was looking at this noble ship through a telescope, and watching with much interest the process of its heeling, when suddenly it overset and went down with 1200 men on board, of whom only 300 were saved. This terrible event was fitted to impress his heart both as a British sailor and a Christian. The noblest vessel of our navy, with one of our best admirals, had thus disappeared in one instant, when their services were most needed. It had gone down in its own port, and amidst calm and sunshine, bearing 900 souls into eternity without note or warning. It was a knell whose echoes were heard for years after—and who can sum up the numbers who are thus admonished to repent, or warned to be in readiness? He who had thus gazed upon the event, was not one by whom its solemn lessons were likely to be disregarded.

The design of relieving Gibraltar, for which an expedition was sent out in 1782, under the command of Lord Howe, summoned Robert Haldane once more into action. The garrison was relieved, and at the entrance of the British fleet into Gibraltar the *Foudroyant* was the leading ship. On the return from the Straits an indecisive engagement with the enemy took place, after which the fleet reached Spithead unmolested. An incident occurred on the way that showed Haldane's courage and self-devotedness in his profession. A Spanish 60 gun ship occasioned a chase among some of the British vessels, in which the fast-sailing *Foudroyant* was foremost, as usual, with all her canvas spread, while

Haldane was ordered to the fore-top-gallant mast, to remain on the look-out until he was recalled. In the meantime, in consequence of an order from Lord Howe, the chase was abandoned, but Haldane was forgotten in the movement; the overstrained mast had sprung with the press of canvas, and he expected every moment to be swept into the sea; but still, faithful to the letter of his orders, he would not abandon his post: his only chance of safety, which an old seaman who was stationed beside him suggested, was to keep hold of the lower part of the ropes, so that when carried into the sea they might still retain their hold of the mast, with their heads above water. While their moments were thus numbered, a sudden cry of "A man overboard!" occasioned a rapid shortening of sail; the critical situation of Haldane and the sailor was then discovered, and an instant order to descend relieved them from their peril. It was an act of obedience such as Rome would have gladly enrolled in her history. On the *Foudroyant* being paid off at Spithead, Haldane was removed into the *Salisbury*, of 60 guns, on which the broad pennant of his commander, Sir John Jervis, was hoisted, as commodore of a squadron intended for the double purpose of a voyage of discovery round the world, and an attack on the Spanish settlements of South America. But the peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, in 1783, altered the destination of the *Salisbury*, so that she only made a short voyage to Newfoundland. On her return to England, Robert Haldane, finding no prospect either of active service or immediate promotion, resolved to spend the rest of his days on shore. He accordingly resigned his commission; and being as yet only twenty years old, he determined to complete the education which had been interrupted three years before, when he went to sea. For this purpose he once more became a student at the University of Edinburgh, of which he had formerly been an alumnus; and, after attending two seasons, he made the grand tour, comprising the principal countries of Europe. After his return he married, in 1786, Katherine Cochrane Oswald, daughter of George Oswald, of Scotston, and settled down upon his patrimonial estate of Airthrey, resolving to devote himself to the life and occupations of a country gentleman. Into this he now threw all his energies, and his taste in agricultural improvements soon made him conspicuous among his compeers. Airthrey was possessed of great natural capabilities, and these he so highly improved that his example was speedily followed, and the surrounding country began to assume a new aspect.

Thus passed the course of Robert Haldane's life for eight years, an even tenor such as poets delight to picture and moralists to recommend. But higher and holier duties awaited him than the transplanting of trees and improvement of lawns and gardens; and he was suddenly awoken from his innocent dream by an event that shook the very pillars of the world, and roused the dullest to alarm and inquiry. Who could sleep, or even muse, amidst the sudden and universal reel of the French revolution? The laird of Airthrey saw in this event the annihilation of feudal rights, and the destruction of heritable charters; but his generous heart did not the less sympathize in the sufferings of a great nation, and its Titan-like throes for deliverance, while he hoped that all this was but the beginning of a happy political millennium, of which France was destined to be the first-fruits. He did not at the time take into account the infidel principles upon which that revolution was based, and the utter insufficiency of such principles to produce the results he anticipated. But teachers were at hand to correct his views, and give a proper direction to his enthusiasm. In his own

account of this period of his life, he tells us:—"At this time I was in habits of intimacy with some very worthy clergymen, residing at and in the neighbourhood of Stirling. They were acquainted with a principle I did not then admit, and which, although a fundamental part of the creeds of the Established Churches, both of England and Scotland, is not generally admitted—I mean the total corruption of human nature. Reasoning from their firm persuasion of this truth, they assured me that such effects as I expected, unquestionably so desirable in themselves, could not flow from any change of government, and that the cruelties in France, then beginning to be exercised, were the natural effect of certain circumstances in which the people of the country stood, and would, in a greater or less degree, take place in any country in a similar situation." The ultimate benefit of such discussions is given in the following summary of his condition at this period:—"Before the French revolution, having nothing to rouse my mind, I lived in the country, almost wholly engaged by country pursuits, little concerned about the general interests or happiness of mankind; but selfishly enjoying the blessings which God, in his providence, had so bountifully poured upon me. As to religion, I contented myself with that general profession which is so common and so worthless, and that form of godliness which completely denies its power. I endeavoured to be decent, and what is called moral; but was ignorant of my lost state by nature, as well as of the strictness, purity, and extent of the Divine law. While I spoke of a Saviour, I was little acquainted with his character, the value of his sufferings and death, the need I stood in of the atoning efficacy of his pardoning blood, or of the imputation of his perfect obedience and meritorious righteousness, and of the sanctifying influences of the Eternal Spirit, to apply his salvation to my soul. When politics began to be talked of, I was led to consider everything anew. I eagerly caught at them as a pleasing speculation. As a fleeting phantom, they eluded my grasp; but, missing the shadow, I caught the substance; and while obliged to abandon these confessedly empty and unsatisfactory pursuits, I obtained in some measure the solid consolations of the gospel; so that I may say, as Paul concerning the Gentiles of old, 'He was found of me who sought him not.'"

Having thus attained a vital knowledge of Divine truth, and prosecuted his first perceptions by careful reading and inquiry, Robert Haldane was eager to impart to others the knowledge he had learned and the blessings he had experienced. Such is the effect of the Christian life, especially when ingrafted upon a naturally heroic temperament. It will neither sit down amidst the silence of private life, nor withdraw itself to the solitude of the hermit's cell; not content with its own salvation alone, it is impatient for the salvation of others also, so that, while the patriot is ready to die for his country, the Christian is ready for even more than this—like St. Paul, he could wish himself "accursed from Christ for his brethren." Thus animated, he looked for a field of Christian enterprise, and soon found it in India—that empire of a hundred realms, which Britain has conquered, but still failed to christianize. The Baptist mission had just previously been established there, and the account of its proceedings been published; and Haldane, who read the first number of its periodical statements, was impatient to enter such a field, and co-operate with the efforts of Carey and his brethren. He, too, like the poor English shoemaker, would become a missionary, and devote himself to a life of danger and toil in India. It was a strange plan, but neither rashly adopted nor unwisely prosecuted. It was upon a grand and comprehensive scale. With himself, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Innes,

minister at Stirling, Mr. Bogue of Gosport, and Greville Ewing, at that time a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, were to go out as missionaries. These were to be accompanied by an efficient staff of catechists, city missionaries, and schoolmasters; and a printing-press, with its necessary establishment of printers and bookbinders. The whole mission, thus completely equipped, was to be conveyed to India, and, when there, to be salaried and supported entirely at the expense of Mr. Haldane; and, to provide a fund for the purpose, he was prepared to bring to the hammer his rich and beautiful estate of Airthrey, for which he had already done so much. Well might such a man say, as he did, "Christianity is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants and commands every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be not, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of professing to believe it."

All being thus in readiness, it appeared as if nothing more was necessary than that the mission should hoist sail and be gone. It was a great national undertaking, of which our government should reap the fruits, and that, too, with the unwonted advantage of having to pay nothing in return. Still, however, permission had to be obtained from the directors of the East India Company and the Board of Control, without which the mission would have been treated as an unauthorized intrusion. It was not forgotten, also, that Carey had been obliged to commence his labours, not in British India, from which he would have been excluded, but in the Danish settlement of Serampore. But it was thought that a better spirit, the result of a more matured experience, had descended upon our Indian legislators; and that so extensive and liberal an enterprise, superintended by one of Haldane's rank, character, and high connections, would scarcely be met by a refusal. Thus also hoped Robert Haldane, and he applied accordingly, but was rejected. Politicians, who had not yet recovered from their astonishment at the facility with which our Indian empire of twenty millions of subjects had been won by a few British bayonets, and who feared that such a sovereignty might be lost as rapidly as it had been gained, could at present see no better mode of retaining their conquest than by keeping the natives in profound ignorance. If Christianity was introduced, the Hindoos would become as knowing as ourselves, and where, then, would be our superiority? It was alleged, also, that an attack upon Brahminism, like that which a Christian mission implied, would kindle such resentment throughout the whole of Hindoostan, that instant revolt would ensue, and end in the expulsion of the British from the country. To these political motives in behalf of such a selfish forbearance, religious ones were also added. It was asserted that Brahminism was a religion the best of all fitted for India; that it was a mild, innocent, and virtuous system; and that, by disturbing the faith of its worshippers, we could at best only translate them from good, pious Hindoos, into very questionable Christians. These motives prevailed, notwithstanding the powerful influence with which Haldane's application was supported, and the persevering urgency with which it was reiterated.

In this way was quenched one of the noblest and most comprehensive schemes of Christian philanthropy that distinguished the religious history of the eighteenth century. Of the proceedings of its originator, in consequence of this heavy disappointment, he has himself given the following account:—"For some time after this (1797) I did not lay aside my endeavours to go out to Bengal; and, in the meanwhile, was busied in selling my estate, that there might be no delay on my part, if obstructions from without should be removed.

I, accordingly, at length found a purchaser, and with great satisfaction left a place, in the beautifying and improving of which my mind had once been much engrossed. In that transaction I sincerely rejoice to this hour, although disappointed in getting out to India. I gave up a place and a situation which continually presented objects calculated to excite and gratify 'the lust of the eye and the pride of life.' Instead of being engaged in such poor matters, my time is now more at my command; and I find my power of applying property usefully very considerably increased." A man thus resolved and disencumbered was not likely to remain long inactive; and his new course of enterprise embraced such a variety of religious benevolence, that we can only bestow a glance upon the objects in which the men of the present generation found him toiling, with unabated hopes and undiminished energy.

One of the first of these was the plan of christianizing Africa, through the agency of its own children. That dark continent, hitherto so impervious to Europeans, and its climate so noxious to all but its natives, presented insuperable obstacles to the zealous missionary as well as the enterprising explorer; so that, to repair thither, was considered as a journey to that country

"————— From whose undiscovered bourns
No traveller returns."

In this difficulty, the idea had occurred to Mr. John Campbell, himself afterwards a successful explorer of Africa, that native children brought to Britain, there educated in Christianity and the arts of civilization, and afterwards returned to their homes, would prove the fittest missionaries and teachers of their countrymen. It was a simple expedient, the soundness of which all our subsequent experience has verified. But, with all its excellence, Campbell, at that time nothing more than a poor tradesman in Edinburgh, could only propose it, for funds were wanting for its accomplishment. In 1798 he met with Robert Haldane, to whom he mentioned his scheme; and the latter, struck with its promising character, at once offered to defray the expense, which was calculated at from £6000 to £7000. Accordingly, twenty-four African children, belonging to the families of different chiefs, were shipped at Sierra Leone, and brought safely to London. Nothing now remained than that they should be sent to Edinburgh, and placed under Mr. Haldane's care, who, in the anticipation of such an arrival, had leased the large old tenement in King's Park, well known to tourists as the house of the Laird of Dumbiedykes. But here, unfortunately, a ground of refusal had occurred. Mr. Haldane, while he defrayed the whole expense of the experiment, was not to be intrusted with the management and education of the children, which, on the contrary, was to be placed under a London committee. He could not accede to proposals so unexpected, and made at the last hour, and he found himself constrained to withdraw from the enterprise. It is gratifying to add, however, that the main purpose was not abandoned, or the children neglected. After having received a religious education, and been taught several handicraft professions, these youthful missionaries were, in due time, restored to their homes.

While this unpleasant affair was pending, and after it had terminated so unsatisfactorily, Mr. Haldane was by no means idle in the work of Christian benevolence; and the disappointments he experienced, both in his Indian and African efforts, seemed only to recal him with redoubled vigour into the field. Among his labours may be mentioned his zealous dissemination of religious

tracts. In the present day, when publications of this kind descend like snow-showers, and too often melt away as rapidly, such a mode of doing good has come to be held in little account. But very different was the state of things at the close of the last century. As yet the Tract Society had no existence, and many can well recollect the "perilous stuff" which, under the name of "ballants," was plentiful in every cottage of Scotland, and constituted the principal reading of the people, both young and old. And what kind of training did the youthful mind receive from the "Exploits of John Cheap the Chapman," "Leper the Tailor," and "Lothian Tom?" It was much, indeed, that one man should have set himself to stem such a tide, and this Mr. Haldane did. At his own expense he caused useful religious tracts to be printed, and these he distributed over the country in myriads. In this manner slim broadsheets insinuated their way through every opening, and the attention of all classes was awakened to doctrines which they were too seldom accustomed to hear from the pulpit. While he thus anticipated the work of the Tract Society, he also forestalled that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by a copious dissemination of the Scriptures at his own expense. He formed, and aided in forming, Sabbath-schools, at that time sorely needed in Scotland, in consequence of the new mercantile character impressed upon it, through which children became sons and daughters of the loom and the spinning-jenny, instead of the legitimate offspring of Christian men and women. And wherever missionary work was to be undertaken, whether at home or abroad, there his counsel and his purse were equally open; and the Serampore translations of the Scriptures, for the use of India, were benefited by his aid, at the same time that he was labouring for the circulation of the gospel among the huts and cottages of his own native country.

But of all the attempts of Robert Haldane, that of the establishment of a new church in Scotland was certainly the most remarkable. It was a daring, and at first sight a superfluous attempt, in the land of John Knox and of Solemn Leagues and Covenants. For was not Scotland already famed over Europe as the most religious and most spiritually enlightened of all countries? But this was the reputation of a past age, upon which a spendthrift generation had now entered, and which they were squandering away in handfuls. At the close of the last century Moderatism had attained its height, and alongside of philosophy and metaphysics, these sciences so congenial to the Scottish national character, infidelity and scepticism had kept equal pace; so that, both in college and church, the doubts of Hume and the doctrines of Socinus had well-nigh eradicated all the visible landmarks of the national faith. Happily, however, for Scotland, its creed, thus driven from both school and pulpit, found a shelter among the homely dwellings of our peasantry; and through the writings of such men as Guthrie, Boston, and Willison, of our own country, and Bunyan, Flavel, and Hervey, of England—all equally prized and carefully studied—the people were in many cases wiser than all their teachers. Still, without further aid these defences must have gone down, and the whole land been inundated with the prevalent tide. Then, however, a few ministers were raised up, by whom that aggressive warfare against the general evil was waged, which was finally attended with such beneficial results; and then also was Robert Haldane, a layman, a man of rank, and therefore a disinterested witness, brought forward to corroborate these clerical efforts, and give effectual aid in the coming revival.

The necessity of a faithfully-preached gospel was at that time peculiarly urgent in Scotland, and here, therefore, it was that Haldane directed his chief

endeavours. While the population had increased twofold, church accommodation had in a great measure remained stationary; and even if additional churches should be built, the difficulty of supplying them with a proper ministry still remained. There was as little hope at the time that Government would supply the former as the Church the latter deficiency, and thus the affair was allowed to drift onward, let it finally strand where it might. To build or hire churches was Mr. Haldane's first aim, and these were speedily set up in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Thurso, Wick, and Elgin; and to furnish them with an efficient ministry, eighty students were soon enrolled, under the pastoral instruction of Dr. Bogue, Mr. Ewing, and Mr. Innes. His chapels, or Tabernacles, as they were usually called, continued to multiply, so that by the year 1805 nearly 200 preachers from Mr. Haldane's seminaries were labouring as ministers and missionaries in Scotland, besides those who had gone to America. When the result of all this devotedness is reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence, it assumes the most tangible form to the eye and understanding: we shall therefore simply state that, from 1798 to 1810, Mr. Haldane had expended about £70,000 in his labours to propagate the gospel at home. And be it remembered, too, that he was no mere philanthropic epicure, acting upon random impulses, or impatient, through sheer laziness, to be rid of his money as an incumbrance. Instead of this, he was as much alive to the enjoyments of fortune as others—as conscious of the value of money, and as provident in securing and expending it as the shrewdest trafficker could well be. But all this he deliberately did at the solemn call of duty; toiling, calculating, and foreseeing at every step; and bestowing these princely sums, that were never to return to him, as considerably as if he had been speculating in the stocks, or investing funds in some hopeful mercantile enterprise. Never, perhaps, were Christian liberality and Scottish *canniness* so admirably combined, or so nobly illustrated; and it is upon this principle that we are to estimate the true worth and the disinterested sacrifices of Robert Haldane.

The effects produced by these tabernacles were very soon apparent throughout Scotland. They roused a spirit of inquiry; and even when the feeling was nothing more than that of alarm, it led to inquiry, of all feelings the one most needful at such a crisis. The most neglected districts, the most secluded nooks of our land, were soon pervaded with an itinerant or settled mission; and communities that had slumbered in hundreds of parishes under the drowsy influence of Moderatism were shaken from their torpor, and raised into full activity. And was Presbyterian Scotland in very deed to become Independent? Happily for the national character and its established habits, so great a violence was not to be sustained; and the public mind, once awakened, had its own beloved Presbyterianism at hand, instead of that system of tabernacle church-government, which it could not well comprehend. In this way Independency fulfilled its mission in Scotland, and having accomplished this it silently retrograded, and left what remained for accomplishment to a more efficient, or at least a more popular and congenial agency. At first, indeed, Haldane, in the establishment of these chapels, had no idea of a dissent from the church—they were only intended as auxiliaries; and both ministers and members were in the practice of going to the sacrament in the Established churches. But it was impossible that this harmony could long continue; and, as was the case of Methodism in England, the alliance was soon broken, and the new congregations were organized into a Body of Dissenters. And then followed a spirit of division, by which the

body was rent in twain. The question of Pædobaptism was the subject of controversy; and while Haldane and his brother adopted the sentiments of the Baptists, and were followed by a large portion of the Congregationalists, the rest took a more decided stand upon those principles of Independency which had long been recognized in England. Such was the history of a religious cause which, be its intrinsic merits what they may, has never been congenial to the spirit of the Scottish nation.

In this manner the days of Robert Haldane were indefatigably occupied for a course of years, and to these general labours we must add his own individual exertions as a lay-preacher and missionary; for he was of opinion that the office of an evangelist neither needed the regular preparation of a college, nor the authoritative sanction of a presbytery. At length, finding that repose to be necessary which results from change of action, he once more turned to the occupations of a country gentleman, by purchasing, in 1809, the estate of Auchingray, in Lanarkshire—a desolate moor of 2000 acres, on which grew only a single tree; but which his exertions adorned with forests of larch, fir, birch, ash, and coppice. This, however, was not his chief occupation, for a large portion of his time was spent in the study, where his preparations for the pulpit equalled those of the most ambitious or pains-taking minister. Another important purpose to which he addressed himself was the preparation of a literary work on the Evidences of Christianity. He was dissatisfied with the established writings upon this important subject, where the authors, however learned and talented, seemed to be more solicitous about the outworks of Christianity than its inner life and spirit; and he justly thought that a more correct and more endearing view of the faith itself should be given, in addition to the arguments by which its heaven-descended authority was authenticated. The result of this wish was his "Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation," of which the first edition was published in 1816. The work, which, at a later period of his life, was considerably extended and improved, was not only favourably received by the Christian public, but highly commended by the most influential judges.

After this publication, an important epoch in the life of Mr. Haldane followed. This was his memorable journey to Geneva and Montauban. After twenty years of toil and sacrifice, he had witnessed such a religious revival in Scotland as left him little cause to regret that Congregationalism should at last be found unnecessary. Still as earnest upon the great work of his life, and as buoyant for missionary enterprise as when he commenced his career, he now resolved to make once more a tour of the Continent, which the peace had but lately opened to the visits of British travellers. Accompanied by Mrs. Haldane, he left Edinburgh on the 9th of October, 1816. His first halt was at Paris; but finding no opening there for missionary labour, and hearing of the benighted state of Geneva, he went to that city, and there took up his residence. That home of Calvin and refuge of John Knox, and therefore so endeared to the affections of every leal-hearted Scotsman—alas! how it had fallen from its ancient supremacy! Those doctrines, of which it was once the nursing-mother and propagandist, had been so utterly forgotten, that, when the new visitor announced them, he was met with the Athenian cry, "Thou bringest certain strange things to our ears!" Not merely the Calvinistic form of Christianity, but even Christianity itself, had dwindled down into Arianism, Socinianism, Neology, Deism—anything, in short, but what it originally was, while each man was allowed to modify it according to his own pleasure, provided he did

not disturb society, either with warnings of its apostasy or a summons to repentance. Such was especially the state of the pastors of the canton, the theological schools, and the students in training for the ministry; and although a very few suspected occasionally that they were in the wrong, and that there was some better way which they had missed, there was neither friend to encourage nor teacher to direct them in their inquiries. But, on the entrance of Robert Haldane, a change commenced in Geneva. He received a few of the students at his hotel, to whom he expounded the Scriptures; the numbers of inquirers grew and multiplied, and light increased among those who diligently sought it. "In a very short time," writes the biographer of one of this band, "a striking revival, effected by his means, was manifested in the school of theology. Around the venerable Haldane, their true professor, there gathered habitually more than twenty pupils of that auditory, converted by the instructions of that blessed Word, which they began immediately to distribute at Geneva, or, at a later period, to carry to neighbouring countries; and amongst the latter may be named Henri Pyt, Jean Guillaume Gonthier, and Charles Rieu, who died pastor at Frederica, in Denmark. It was on Thursday, the 6th of February, 1817, that Mr. Haldane undertook to read and explain to them the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. 'He knew the Scriptures,' says Pyt, 'like a Christian who has had for his Master the same Holy Spirit by whom they were dictated.' He spoke in English; first, M. Rieu, then M. Fred. Monod, of Paris, or M. James, of Breda, interpreted. Never, we venture to say, since the days of Francis Turrettine and Benedict Pictet, of holy and happy memory—never had any doctor expounded the whole counsel of God with such purity, force, and fulness; never had so bright a luminary shone in the city of Calvin." These students, however, numerous as they ultimately became, did not constitute the whole of his audience. "Besides those who attended regularly," Haldane himself writes, "some, who did not wish to appear with the students, came at different hours; and in conversing with them at those times, or after finishing the public course at eight o'clock, I was often engaged till near midnight. Others of the inhabitants of Geneva, unconnected with the schools of learning, and of both sexes, occasionally visited me in the afternoon respecting the gospel." No such movement has ever occurred without opposition; and the Genevese pastors, after vainly attempting to refute the new preacher, endeavoured to procure his banishment from the canton; and, on the refusal of their free republican government, they proposed to cite him before their spiritual court, as a teacher of error and perverter of their students. But all that they could do was to frame new acts, which every student was required to sign before being licensed to preach; acts particularly framed against the doctrines of the Godhead of the Saviour, original sin, grace and effectual calling, and predestination. It was the blundering policy of persecutors, who endeavour to silence, without having power and authority to destroy. The sword, wielded by such feeble hands, was but the touch of a spur to accelerate the movement.

Having finished the good work at Geneva, and kindled a flame that was not to be extinguished, Mr. Haldane wisely resolved to retire, and transfer his labours to some other quarter. Montauban was selected as his next field, which he reached in July, 1817. Here he published, in French, his prelections to the students of Geneva, in two volumes, under the title of a "Commentary on the Romans." Although the centre of education for the Protestants of the Reformed Church in France, Montauban was too like the parent city of Ge-

neva; it had lapsed from the faith, and was overrun with Arianism and infidelity. Here he resided more than two years, and proceeded in the same manner as he had done at Geneva. And, happily, it was with similar results. Several ministers and many young students, who had been trained in Rationalism, were awoke from their security, and converted to the faith under his apostolic ministry. At length, the near prospect of the death of his father-in-law, in Scotland, occasioned his return, but with the purpose of revisiting Montauban, which, however, he was not destined to accomplish. It would be difficult to estimate the effects of this singular tour; D'Aubigné, no mean judge of great religious movements, has characterized it as "one of the most beautiful episodes in the history of the church." Its history, we doubt not, will long continue to be read in the future religious progress of France and Switzerland. Besides the distinguished leading men in the continental churches who were reclaimed from the prevalent darkness, among whom may be mentioned Cæsar Malan, of Geneva, and Merle D'Aubigné, the eloquent historian of the Reformation, it is calculated, on the authority of M. Mejanel, that in France and Switzerland more than sixty ministers had been converted by the instrumentality of Mr. Haldane. Twenty-four years afterwards the following attestation of his labours was written by the president of the French Protestant Consistory to Mr. Haldane's nephew:—

"We have borne him in our heart ever since the moment when the Lord blessed us by bringing him into the midst of us; and the good which he has done to us, and which is extending more and more in our church, renders, and will render, his name and memory for ever dear. When he first appeared in our town [Montauban] the gospel of salvation was in little honour, and its vital doctrines entirely unknown, except by a very few, who, encouraged by our venerable brother, frankly announced them, in spite of the opposition of unbelief. But, thanks be to God, now in this church, as in a great number of others in our France, the truth of God is preached with power, and without ostensible contradiction. The great majority of pastors are approaching nearer and nearer to the orthodoxy of our fathers, and many among them are truly examples of zeal for the house of God. I am often touched, even to tears, in seeing pastors, at whose ordination I did not wish to take part, preach Christ and Christ crucified with liberty of heart, full of force and blessing. I tell you these things, dear Sir, because it is most certainly the fruit of the good seed sown here and elsewhere by your venerable uncle."

On his return to Scotland Mr. Haldane, always indefatigable in the good work to which he had devoted himself, was employed with the state of religion at home and upon the Continent, intermingled with occasional preaching and a missionary visit to Ireland. In this way he occupied himself till 1821, when a painful event called him forth as a controversialist, and that too, not with the enemies, but the professed friends and disseminators of vital uncontaminated Christianity. This conflict in which he was engaged, still remembered as the Apocryphal Controversy, originated in the following circumstances:—On the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it was agreed that the Scriptures should be circulated without note and comment, and that the Apocrypha should be excluded. This condition it was easy to observe at home, and in Protestant countries abroad where the canon of Scripture has been established, and its own inspired language received as the only authority. But it was very different in Popish countries, where the prevalent errors are mainly established upon passages from the Apocryphal writings, and where, conse-

quently, the books of Tobit, the Maccabees, or Bel and the Dragon, are of equal authority with those of the apostles and prophets. They would not receive the Bible, therefore, unless it included the Apocrypha, and in an evil hour the Society yielded to their demand. They not only gave money in aid of foreign societies that published these adulterated Scriptures, but actually printed Bibles with the Apocrypha intermingled or appended, to further the circulation of the Word among Romanist, Greek, and semi-Protestant communities. This was a bold step, which the British public would not have tolerated; it was, besides, a breach of faith against those principles on which the Society had been founded. Concealment, therefore, was added to fraud, and impunity only increased the evil. At length it became so great, that the translation of Scripture was intrusted to men who vitiated the text by neological versions of the original, in compliance with Western scepticism, or disfigured it with bombast to suit the taste of the East. It was thought enough to disseminate the Word of God, and that if this were but done, it mattered little with what extraneous or corrupt additions it might be accompanied. "I would distribute the Bible," said one advocate of this perversity, "though the writings of Tom Paine were bound up in it." "And I, too," said another, improving upon the idea, "though the history of Tom Thumb should be inclosed in it."

In this way a pious fraud was commenced, that went onward step by step, until it attained the maturity of full-grown Jesuitism. And still the unsuspecting public increased their liberality from year to year, and satisfied themselves that all was right. At length it fell to Robert Haldane, by the merest accident, to detect this monstrous evil while it was as yet in its infancy. In 1821, being in London, he had occasion to visit the offices of the Bible Society, where he left his umbrella, and called next day to recover it. While he thus "looked in," he was requested to join a sub-committee which was then sitting. He complied; but as the business went onward, he was astonished to discover how much the Apocrypha had been already circulated among the foreign translations of the Bible. His appeals on the occasion were loud and earnest, and the society agreed to discontinue the practice. Thus matters continued quiet till 1824, when it was found that the practice was still going on—and all that good might come out of it. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual, Mr. Haldane now appealed to the Edinburgh Society, which had hitherto acted in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society; and as none of those Apocryphal sympathies were harboured in the north that still lingered in England, the Edinburgh branch withdrew from the coalition, and formed an establishment of its own for the circulation of an unmixed, unadulterated gospel. Such a secession could not be accomplished without a controversy; for the parent society, that felt itself rebuked by the movement, endeavoured to justify itself to the Christian public; and thus the two parties entered into a conflict that lasted for years, and was waged with all the earnestness not only of a religious, but a national warfare. It was England and Scotland once more in the field, while the canon of Scripture itself was at issue. In behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, not only the mere advocates of expediency were enlisted, but men of the highest reputation for learning, orthodoxy, and piety, and the chief religious periodicals of the day. On the other side, Dr. Andrew Thomson, the most formidable of controversialists, and Robert Haldane, by whom the evil had been detected and the resistance commenced, were the principal champions.

Nothing can be more unjust and ungenerous at this time of day, than to look back upon such a conflict either with contempt or indifference. Revelation itself was at stake. Driven from all their weak defences of necessity and expediency, the Apocryphal party in desperation endeavoured to justify themselves by calling in question the canon of Scripture itself, as if it were a mere matter on which every one might think as he pleased; and to make good their mischievous position, they explored the works of the old heretical writers, to show how much of the Bible was interpolated or uninspired, and how much might safely be called in question. Never indeed was such violence done to the faith of a Protestant community, or the belief of men in such danger of being unsettled. Onward went the conflict till 1830, when Dr. Thomson, exhausted by his almost super-human efforts, fell dead at his post with the banner in his hand, which was immediately caught and raised aloft by Mr. Haldane. It was much indeed that he had been able hitherto to keep pace with the onward stride of such a leader. But after many a change and trial, truth in the end prevailed; the canon of inspiration was more securely settled than ever, and the Bible Society recovered from its errors and restored to healthfulness and efficiency. During this long controversy, Mr. Haldane's exertions, both on the platform and in the press, were so numerous, that we can only particularize his chief publications upon the subject. In 1825 appeared his "Review of the Conduct of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha, and to their Administration on the Continent; with an Answer to the Rev. C. Simeon, and Observations on the Cambridge Remarks." This was afterwards followed by a "Second Review," in a pamphlet of more than 200 pages, in consequence of a "Letter addressed to Robert Haldane Esq.," by Dr. Steinkopff, impugning the statements of the first. A third work which he published was entitled "Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures." A fourth was a "Review of Dr. Pye Smith's Defence of Dr. Haffner's Preface, and of his Denial of the Divine Authority of Part of the Canon, and of the full Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, by Alexander Carson." This work, written by a friend, served as a sequel to his own on the "Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures." Several other works by the same Dr. Carson, on the canon of Scripture, were published by Mr. Haldane during the course of the controversy, at his own expense. After these, a series of pamphlets appeared from the pen of Mr. Haldane, in which he answered separately the Rev. John Scott of Hull, Mr. Gurney of Norwich, the Rev. Samuel Wilks, and other defenders of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

We must now hasten over the latter days of Haldane, although they were characterized by the same high sense of duty and devoted activity that had distinguished his whole career. Before the Apocryphal controversy had ended, he published a "Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ;" a work, the title of which will sufficiently explain the purport. In 1834 he published a new edition of his "Evidences of Christianity," to which many valuable chapters were added that had not appeared in the original work of 1816. After this he addressed himself to the revision of his greatest work, "The Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans," upon which he had been more or less employed for thirty years, and published it, greatly improved and enlarged, in 1835. The fact of a lengthened exposition upon such a subject having reached a fifth edition within seven years, was a full attestation of its theological

merits. It might have been hoped that his controversial warfare had now ended, and that his life would have been left undisturbed to those important theological investigations which he so greatly delighted to prosecute. But, in 1838, a generous love of fair play, and sympathy for the oppressed, obliged him once more to buckle on his armour. The clergy of the Established Church in Edinburgh were paid, as they had long been, by an annuity-tax levied upon every householder within the royalty of the city. But at this the Dissenters and Seceders had demurred, and were now in open opposition; while many, from mistaken conscientiousness, or allured by the *clat* of martyrdom divested of its more serious pains and penalties, were willing to incur the risk of fine or even of imprisonment rather than support any longer what they called "the State Church." Thus the Established clergy of Edinburgh were surrounded by a blockade, and threatened to be reduced by famine. It was then that Haldane, himself a Dissenter, hastened to the rescue. He boldly assailed the coalition that had been formed for the non-payment of the annuity-tax; grounding his argument upon the first seven verses of the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and startled the recusants by proving from this authority that they were guilty of rebellion against Christ himself. His appeal was addressed through one of the Edinburgh newspapers, and eleven letters followed, in which he pursued the same line of argument. So successful were these addresses that the tide of popular feeling was turned, the coalition broken, and its leader silenced. It would be well for the Established clergy of Edinburgh, if again, when the hostile feeling has been renewed, they could find such another advocate.

Old age and its decay were now doing their appointed work, and by 1840 Mr. Haldane was obliged to desist from his wonted duties as preacher in the chapel which he had erected at Auchingray. But to the last he continued to interest himself in religious and missionary movements, and to revise and improve his Exposition of the Romans, which he justly regarded as the most important of all his writings. Thus he continued to the close of his life, on the 12th of December, 1842, when he died, rejoicing in the faith he had preached, and the love and Christian charity which his whole life had so beautifully exemplified. His remains lie interred in one of the aisles of the venerable cathedral of Glasgow, awaiting the joyful resurrection of the just. Only six months after his widow also died, and her body was buried in the same vault with her husband. Their only child, Margaret, left one son and three daughters, the grandchildren of Robert Haldane, who still survive as his lineal representatives.

HALL, CAPTAIN BASIL, R.N.—Sir James Hall, Bart., of Dunglass, in the county of Haddington, and M.P. for the borough of St. Michael's, Cornwall, who was father of the subject of the present biographical notice, obtained a distinguished name in the scientific world by his successful researches, as well as his writings. A part of his education was acquired at a university, where he had for one of his fellow-students no less a personage than Napoleon Bonaparte himself. Of this the fallen emperor, who never forgot anything, whether for good or evil, had a most distinct recollection; and when his son was introduced to him, more than thirty years afterwards, at St. Helena, he exclaimed, on hearing his name, "Ah! Hall; I knew your father when I was at the military college of Brienne—I remember him perfectly—he was fond of mathematics—he did not associate much with the younger part of the scholars, but rather

with the priests and professors, in another part of the town from that in which we lived." In 1813 Sir James published a learned and elaborate "Essay on the Origin, Principles, and History of Gothic Architecture;" and was author of several justly-admired papers in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," of which he was president. He tried experiments on the fusion of stony substances, and thereby established the fact of the identity of the composition of whinstone and lava. He also ascertained that carbonate of lime (as common marble) might be fused without decomposition, if subjected to a degree of pressure equal to that which would be caused by the sea at the depth of about a mile and a half from its surface. The result of these inquiries tended to establish the truth of the Plutonian or Igneous theory of the origin of minerals, and to vindicate the authority of Hutton against that of Werner and his followers. Such was the father of Captain Basil Hall, whom, in some important points of intellectual character, the son closely resembled; his mother was a daughter of the fourth Earl of Douglas. Basil was born at Edinburgh, in 1788. His education, which was chiefly conducted at the High School of his native city, appears to have given little promise of future literary distinction; its monotony he felt to be a very weariness; and, instead of seeking a high place among his fellows, he preferred the middle of the class, because it was nearest to the comfortable fire. Still, however, his character was marked by considerable originality and independence; a startling proof of which he once gave to the master, by desiring to have the hours for study and recreation left to his own disposal, instead of his being tied down to the regulations of the school. As might be expected, this disregard of the laws of the Medes and Persians fared as it deserved, and he continued to doze by the fireside. Happily, however, his aim of life had been early chosen, so that he could think of something else than Latin conjugations. He had resolved to be a sailor, and every holiday that released him from the class-room was spent by the sea-shore, and in frequent cruises with the fishermen of the coast on which his father's estate was situated.

This early predilection of Basil Hall was soon gratified; for in 1802, when he had only reached his fourteenth year, he was entered into the royal navy. On leaving home, "Now," said his father, putting a blank book into one hand of the stripling, and a pen into the other, "you are fairly afloat in the world; you must begin to write a journal." Little did Sir James know how zealously this judicious advice would be followed out, and what fruits would germinate from such a small beginning. The education that was fitted for such a mind as his had now fairly commenced. As his biographer has justly observed, "The opportunities which the naval profession affords, both for scientific pursuits and the study of men and manners in various climes, happened, in Captain Hall's case, to lead him into scenes of more than usual interest; or perhaps it would be more correct to state, that his eager and indefatigable pursuit of knowledge induced him to seek every means of extending the sphere of his observations." After having been six years at sea, during which long period he had been only twelve days at home, he received a lieutenant's commission in 1808; and being desirous of active service, he procured his transference from a ship of the line to the frigate *Endymion*, employed at that time in transporting troops for Sir John Moore's army in Spain. There Lieutenant Hall witnessed many heart-stirring events, not the least of which was that of the heroic Moore borne dying from the battle of Corunna. Of the whole of this conflict, in which he was a

spectator, he has given an interesting account in his "Fragments of Voyages and Travels."

The rest of Basil Hall's naval career is so well known from his numerous works, that nothing more is necessary than merely to advert to its leading points. In 1814 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in 1817 to that of post-captain. Pending the period of advance from a lieutenancy, he was acting commander of the *Theban* on the East India station, in 1813, when he accompanied its admiral, Sir Samuel Hood, in a journey over the greater part of the island of Java. On his return home he was appointed to the command of the *Lyra*, a small gun brig that, in 1816, formed part of the armament in the embassy of Lord Amherst to China. On the landing of the suite, and while his lordship was prosecuting his inland journey to Peking, Captain Hall used the opportunity by exploring those wonders of the adjacent seas, which as yet were little, if at all, known to the "barbarians" of the "outer circle." During this cruise his visit to the Great Loo-Choo island will continue to be memorable, from the Eden-like scenery and primitive innocent race which it presented to the eyes of its astonished visitors. Even Napoleon himself was justified in doubting whether such a community existed, when he was informed by Captain Hall that they not only used no money, but possessed also no lethal weapon, not even a poniard or an arrow. The ex-emperor indeed was in the right, for subsequent accounts have shown that the Loo-Chooans must have cunningly imposed both upon Hall and Captain Maxwell, by whom the *Alceste* was commanded in the expedition, and that these gentle islanders used not only weapons and money, but were among the most merciless pirates in the Yellow Sea. On his return to England in 1817, Captain Hall published "A Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island in the Japan Sea," a work so novel and interesting in its materials, as well as so attractive in style, that it rapidly secured a wide popularity. In this first edition there was an appendix containing charts and various hydrographical and scientific notices, which were omitted in the second, published in 1820. In 1827 the work appeared in a still more popular form, being the first volume of "Constable's Miscellany," while it was enriched with the highly interesting account of his interview with Napoleon at St. Helena, when the *Lyra* was on its return from the Chinese Sea.

In 1820 Captain Hall, in the ship *Conway*, under his command, proceeded to Valparaiso, being charged to that effect by the British government. It was a period of intense interest to the Spanish colonies of South America, engaged as they were in that eventful warfare with the mother country, by which their independence was secured, and in such a contest Britain could not look on as an unconcerned spectator. After having touched at Teneriffe, Rio-de-Janeiro, and the River Plate, and remained at anchor in the principal seaport of the Chilian coast, according to orders, he was next sent, in 1821, from Valparaiso towards Lima, being commanded to call by the way at the intermediate ports on the coast of Chili and Peru. The object of this cruise was to inquire into the British interests at these places; to assist and protect any of his Britannic Majesty's trading subjects; and, in a general way, to ascertain the commercial resources of the district. Having discharged these pacific but important duties to the full satisfaction of government, he returned to England early in 1823, and published the result of his observations under the title of "Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822." This work, which afterwards constituted the second and third

volumes of "Constable's Miscellany," contained not only a highly interesting account of the people of these countries, and the events of the war of South American independence, but a memoir on the navigation of the South American station, a valuable collection of scientific observations, and an article "On the Duties of Naval Commanders-in-chief on the South American Station, before the appointment of Consuls."

Captain Hall had now established for himself a higher reputation than that of a brave sailor, skilful navigator, and rising man in his profession; his scientific acquirements, which he made by close study and careful observation during the course of his professional service in every quarter of the world, had insured him the favourable notice of the most eminent in the several departments of physics, while the literary excellence of the works he had already published had given him an honoured place among the most popular writers of the day. On this account, while he was on shore, it was as an author, and in the society of authors; and in this respect his journal affords such a mass of information that we wonder how a sailor could have written it. But every phase of intellectual society, every movement, every utterance, was as carefully noted by him as if he had been on the look-out upon the mast-head amidst a new ocean studded with rocks, shoals, and sunny islands. In this way, amongst other information, he has given us one of the most minute, and at the same time most graphic and interesting, accounts which we possess of the domestic life of Sir Walter Scott. As he was living on shore at the time, he spent the Christmas of 1824 at Abbotsford, with the "Great Unknown," while the mansion itself, which was newly finished and now to be inaugurated, had a greater concourse of distinguished guests than it could well contain. "Had I a hundred pens," exclaims Hall on this occasion, "each of which at the same time should separately write down an anecdote, I could not hope to record one-half of those which our host, to use Spenser's expression, 'welled out always.'" But what man could do he did on this occasion; and during these ten or twelve happy days, every hour found him on the alert, and every evening occupied in bringing up his log. In this way his "Abbotsford Journal" alone would form a delightful volume. "Certainly Sir Walter Scott," observes his son-in-law and biographer, "was never subjected to sharper observation than that of his ingenious friend, Captain Basil Hall." But while thus observant, Hall could also be as frolicsome a Jack-ashore as ever landed after a two years' cruise, and this he showed when Hogmany-night came; that night often so destructive of merriment, because people are then, as it were, enjoined by proclamation, like those of Cyprus, to "put themselves in triumph." "It is true enough," says Hall, when philosophizing upon this perverse tendency, "that it is to moralize too deeply to take things in this way, and to conjure up, with an ingenuity of self-annoyance, these blighting images. So it is, and so I acted; and as my heart was light and unloaded with any care, I exerted myself to carry through the ponderous evening; ponderous only because it was one set apart to be light and gay. I danced reels like a wild man, snapped my fingers, and hallooed with the best of them; flirted with the young ladies at all hazards; and with the elder ones—of which there was a store—I talked and laughed finely." One part of this journal, and not the least interesting part of it, is a solution of one of the great literary problems of the day; viz., how Sir Walter Scott could write so much, and yet be apparently so little in his study. Did he labour while all the world was asleep, that he might mingle in its daily intercourse? Captain Hall's

solution gives us an insight into his own literary character, and shows us how he was himself able to write so many volumes:—"I have taken the trouble," he says, "to make a computation, which I think fair to give, whichever way it may be thought to make in the argument. In each page of 'Kenilworth' there are, upon an average, 864 letters; in each page of this journal 777 letters. Now I find that in ten days I have written 120 pages, which would make about 108 pages of 'Kenilworth'; and as there are 320 pages in a volume, it would, at my rate of writing this journal, cost about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days for each volume, or say three months for the composition of the whole of that work. No mortal in Abbotsford House ever learned that I kept a journal. I was in company all day, and all the evening till a late hour, apparently the least occupied of the party; and, I will venture to say, not absent from the drawing-room one-quarter of the time that the Unknown was. I was always down to breakfast before any one else, and often three-quarters of an hour before the author of 'Kenilworth'; always among the very last to go to bed; in short, I would have set the acutest observer at defiance to have discovered when I wrote this journal; and yet it is written, honestly and fairly, day by day. I don't say it has cost me much labour, but it is surely not too much to suppose that its composition has cost me, an unpractised writer, as much study as 'Kenilworth' has cost the glorious Unknown. I have not had the motive of £5500 to spur me on for my set of volumes; but if I had had such a bribe, in addition to the feelings of good-will for those at home, for whose sole perusal I write this, and if I had had in view, over and above, the literary glory of contributing to the happiness of two-thirds of the globe, do you think I would not have written ten times as much, and yet no one should have been able to discover when it was that I had put pen to paper?" All this is well; but alas for the man, however talented and however active, who tasks his mind like a machine or a steam-engine, and calculates that, according to the ratio of a few days or weeks, it may be made to go onward, without interval, for months, for years, for a whole lifetime! Both Scott and Hall tried the experiment, and we know how mournfully it ended. While mentioning these two in connection, it may be as well to state that the acquaintance-ship which they enjoyed during these bright but brief festal meetings at Abbotsford, was not interrupted, but rather drawn more closely, by the distressing events that clouded the latter years of Sir Walter. Such was the case especially in 1826, when, after making a visit to Scott's now humble residence in North St. David Street (Edinburgh), with the veneration of a pilgrim, Hall thus prefaced his account of the interview in his journal upon his returning home:—"A hundred and fifty years hence, when his works have become old classical authorities, it may interest some fervent lover of his writings to know what this great genius was about on Saturday, the 10th of June, 1826, five months after the total ruin of his pecuniary fortunes, and twenty-six days after the death of his wife." When Scott's health was so utterly broken down that a voyage to Naples, and a winter's residence there, were prescribed as a last resource, Captain Hall, unknown to his friend, and prompted by his own kind heart, applied on this occasion to Sir James Graham, first Lord of the Admiralty, and suggested how fit and graceful an act it would be on the part of government to place a frigate at Scott's disposal for his voyage to the Mediterranean. The application was successful; and Sir Walter, amidst the pleasure he felt at such a distinction, could not help exclaiming of Hall, "That curious fellow, who takes charge of every one's business without neglecting his own, has done a great deal for me in

this matter." Here Captain Hall's good offices did not terminate, for he preceded Sir Walter to Portsmouth, to make preparations for his arrival and comfortable embarkation. Of the few days which Sir Walter Scott spent at Portsmouth on this occasion, the captain has given a full account in the third volume of his "Third Series of Voyages and Travels."

In the interview which Hall was privileged to enjoy with Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena, and amidst the abrupt transitions that occurred in the manifold dialogue, where he was catechized more closely than ever he had been before, he records the following part of it, so closely connected with his own personal history:—"Bonaparte then said, 'Are you married?' and upon my replying in the negative, continued, 'Why not? What is the reason you don't marry?' I was somewhat at a loss for a good answer, and remained silent. He repeated his question, however, in such a way that I was forced to say something, and told him I had been too busy all my life; besides which, I was not in circumstances to marry. He did not seem to understand me, and again wished to know why I was a bachelor. I told him I was too poor a man to marry. 'Aha!' he cried, 'I now see—want of money—no money—yes, yes!' and laughed heartily, in which I joined, of course, though, to say the truth, I did not altogether see the humorous point of the joke." We do not wonder at Hall's blindness, for it was no joke at all to have been compelled to remain so long in celibacy (he was now in his thirtieth year), without a definite prospect of emancipation. Thus matters continued for eight years longer, when, in 1825, he married Margaret, youngest daughter of the late Sir John Hunter, consul-general for Spain.

Hitherto the career of Captain Hall had been a mixed one, being spent partly on sea and partly on shore, while the duties of his profession were alternated with the study of the sciences and the acquirement of languages; and whatever land he visited in the course of his many voyages, called forth from him a descriptive work, such as few literary landmen could have written. And yet, with all this incessant mental action, and overflow of intellectual labour, the details of his profession had been so carefully studied, and its manifold requirements so well attended to, that he had attained a naval rank and reputation only accorded to those who have devoted themselves exclusively to the sea service. Now, however, we must briefly trace the rest of his life on shore, when, as a married man, he had settled down, and, in the words of Bacon, given hostages to fortune. By settling down, however, we are to understand nothing else than his abandonment of the sea, for his active inquiring spirit would have carried him into every corner of the earth, had time and opportunity permitted. In 1827, he repaired with his wife and child to the United States, in which they spent above a year, and where he travelled during that time nearly nine thousand miles by land and water. The fruits of his observations were given soon after his return, in his "Travels in North America," in three vols. 8vo, which he published in 1829. His next work was "Fragments of Voyages and Travels," which formed three serial publications, each consisting of 3 vols. 12mo. In 1834, he was travelling in Italy, and at Rome he formed the acquaintanceship of the distinguished Countess of Purgstall, who had been an early friend of his father. This lady, originally Miss Cranstoun, a native of Scotland, and sister of George Cranstoun, advocate, afterwards Lord Corehouse, was so famed for her eccentric liveliness, beauty, wit, and accomplishments, as to have been supposed by many to have been the original Diana Vernon, who so fascinated the novel-reading world in the pages of Rob Roy. Although this

identity is denied by the biographer of Sir Walter Scott, it is certain that she was the early friend of the great novelist, and bore a strong family resemblance to the subsequent heroine of his creation. In 1797 she was married to Godfrey Wenceslaus, count of Purgstall, an Austrian nobleman, possessing large establishments in Styria. But although surrounded with almost regal splendour, the latter part of the life of this once happy creature was a mournful one; for first her husband died in 1811, and finally, a few years afterwards, her only son, a youth of high promise and attainments, at the early age of nineteen, by which death the illustrious race of Purgstall was extinct; and the forlorn wife and mother, who had vowed to her son upon his death-bed that her dust should finally be mingled with his, resisted every solicitation of her early friends to return to her native Scotland, and preferred a residence for the rest of her days in her now lonely and deserted Styria. Captain Hall gladly accepted an invitation to visit her, at her *schloss* or castle of Heinfeld, near Gratz; and from the journal which he kept there, he afterwards published his work of "Schloss Heinfeld, or a Winter in Lower Styria." The lady had now reached the advanced age of seventy-eight, but her recollections of early days were still so fresh and vivid, that they formed the chief theme of her conversation, while she found in Captain Hall a delighted listener. "The Countess's anecdotes," he says, "relating to this period (of her intimacy with Sir Walter Scott), were without number; and I bitterly regretted, when it was too late, that I had not commenced at once making memoranda of what she told us. It was, indeed, quite clear to us, that this accomplished and highly gifted lady was the first person who not merely encouraged him to persevere, but actually directed and chastised those incipient efforts which, when duly matured, and rendered confident by independent exercise, and repeated though cautious trials, burst forth at last from all control, and gave undisputed law to the whole world of letters." It was at this huge Styrian castle, also, that Captain Hall spent his forty-sixth birth-day, upon which occasion he gives us the following retrospect of his past existence:—"I have enjoyed to the full each successive period of my life, as it has rolled over me; and just as I began to feel that I had had nearly enough of any one period, new circumstances, more or less fortunate and agreeable, began to start up, and to give me fresher, and, generally speaking, more lively interest in the coming period than in that which had just elapsed. As a middy, I was happy—as a lieutenant, happier—as a captain, happiest! I remember thinking that the period from 1815 to 1823, during which I commanded different ships of war, could not by any possibility be exceeded in enjoyment; and yet I have found the dozen years which succeeded greatly happier, though in a very different way. It is upon this that the whole matter turns. Different seasons of life, like different seasons of the year, require different dresses; and if these be misplaced, there is no comfort. Were I asked to review my happy life, and to say what stage of it I enjoyed most, I think I should pitch upon that during which I passed my days in the scientific, literary, and political society of London, and my nights in dancing and flirting till sunrise, in the delicious paradise of Almack's, or the still more bewitching ball-rooms of Edinburgh! Perhaps next best was the quiet half-year spent in the Schloss Heinfeld. What the future is to produce is a secret in the keeping of that close fellow, Time; but I await the decision with cheerfulness and humble confidence, sure that whatever is sent will be for the best, be it what it may."—How blessed a boon is our ignorance of futurity! Through this ignorance, years of

happiness were yet in store for Captain Hall, and at their close, "sufficient for the day were the evils thereof."

Hitherto we have noticed the carefulness with which he had been accustomed, wherever he went, to keep a daily journal. The advantage of this plan is obvious in all his writings. Every object he describes as if he had just left it, and every event as if its last echo had not yet died away. Thus, his "*Schloss Heinfeld*," which is such a lively fascinating work, was but an episode in one of three trips to the Continent, and out of these visits he purposed to make a whole series of similar writings from the copious memorials he had taken of his every-day movements. This, however, he did not accomplish, and his last production, entitled "*Patchwork*," in three volumes, was published in 1841. It is a light sketchy collection of tales, recollections of his travel in foreign countries, and essays, and evinces that his intellect was still as vigorous and his heart as buoyant as ever. But here the memoir of Captain Hall must be abruptly closed. Mental aberration, perhaps the result of so much activity and toil, supervened, after which his existence was but a blank; and being necessarily placed in confinement, he died in the Royal Hospital, Haslar, Portsmouth, on the 11th of September, 1844, at the age of fifty-six.

In the preceding notice, instead of enumerating the whole of Basil Hall's numerous writings, we have confined ourselves to those that were connected with his personal history. Allusion has already been made to his scientific researches, which he commenced as a young midshipman, and continued to the end of his career. Besides the interspersions of these researches among his popular works, he produced several detached papers, of which the following list has been given:—

"An Account of the Geology of the Table Mountain."

"Details of Experiments made with an Invariable Pendulum in South America and other places, for determining the Figure of the Earth."

"Observations made on a Comet at Valparaiso."

Besides these three papers, which were published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Captain Hall produced—

"A Sketch of the Professional and Scientific Objects which might be aimed at in a Voyage of Research."

"A Letter on the Trade-Winds, in the Appendix to Daniell's *Meteorology*."

Several scientific papers in *Brewster's Journal*, *Jamieson's Journal*, and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

It is only necessary to add to this account, that Captain Hall was a fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, and a member of the *Astronomical Society of London*.

HENDERSON, THOMAS, Professor of Practical Astronomy, Edinburgh.—This distinguished astronomer was born at Dundee, on the 28th of December, 1798. His father, who was a respectable tradesman, after giving him the best education which his native town could furnish, apprenticed Thomas, at the age of fifteen, to Mr. Small, a writer or attorney, in whose office his elder brother was then a partner. Here he served a term of six years with great diligence; and on the expiration of this period he removed to Edinburgh, to perfect himself in the study of law, as his future profession. Having obtained a situation in the office of a writer to the signet, his abilities and diligence attracted the notice of Sir James Gibson Craig, by whose recommendation he was appointed secretary or advocate's clerk to the talented and eccentric John Clerk, after-

wards raised to the bench under the title of Lord Eldin. On the retirement of the latter into private life, Mr. Henderson obtained the situation of private secretary to the Earl of Lauderdale, which he afterwards quitted for the more lucrative appointment of secretary to Francis Jeffrey, then Lord Advocate, in which office he continued till 1831.

All this was nothing more than the successful career of a diligent young lawyer, devoted to his profession, and making it the means of advancement in life; and as such, his biography would not have been worth mentioning. But simultaneous with his application to the law, another course of study had been going on, from which he was to derive his future distinction. It often enough—too often—happens, that dry legal studies send the young mind with a violent recoil into the opposite extreme; and thus many a young Hopeful of a family is

———“Foredoom'd his father's soul to cross,
Who pens a stanza when he should engross.”

Henderson, however, chose more wisely, for his favourite by-study was that of astronomy, which he commenced so early as during the period of his apprenticeship—which he prosecuted so as not to retard his professional pursuits—and to which he did not wholly resign himself, until he found that he could do it with safety and advantage. In Dundee he applied to astronomical investigations during the leisure hours of his apprenticeship, and continued in like manner to prosecute them after his arrival in Edinburgh, where his proficiency in the science gradually introduced him to the acquaintanceship of Professors Leslie and Wallace, Captain Basil Hall, and other distinguished scientific men of the northern capital. At this time it was fortunate for him that an observatory had been erected upon the Calton Hill, which, though poorly furnished with the necessary apparatus, had yet enough to satisfy the wants of ordinary inquirers. Of this establishment Professor Wallace had charge; and finding that he could intrust Mr. Henderson, though a stranger, with free access and full use of the instruments, the latter gladly availed himself of the opportunity, by which he improved himself largely in the practical departments of astronomical science, in addition to the theoretical and historical knowledge of it which he had already acquired. These studies upon the Calton Hill were the more commendable, when we take into account his weak health, his tendency to a disorder in his eyes, and his diligence in the duties of his laborious profession, which he had too much wisdom and self-denial to neglect.

It was not till 1824 that Mr. Henderson presented himself to notice as an astronomer, which he did by communicating with Dr. Thomas Young, at that time superintending the “Nautical Almanac.” To him he imparted his method of computing an observed occultation of a fixed star by the moon, which Young published as an improvement upon his own, in the “Nautical Almanac” for 1827, and the four following years, to which Henderson added a recent method and several calculations. These methods were also announced to the scientific world by being published in the “London Quarterly Journal of Science,” while Mr. Henderson received for them the thanks of the Board of Longitude. In 1827 he communicated a paper to the Royal Society of London, “On the Difference of Meridians of the Royal Observatories of London and Paris,” which the society published in its “Transactions.” Mr. Henderson's reputation, as a scientific and practical astronomer, was now established, while his communications to Dr. Young were about to change his public career in life for one more

congenial to his favourite pursuits. The latter, who held the important office of secretary to the Board of Longitude, died, and after this event a memorandum was found in his hand-writing, which he had deposited with Professor Rigaud, desiring that, on the event of his death, the Admiralty should be informed that no one was so competent, in his opinion, to succeed him as Mr. Henderson. The Admiralty were pleased to think otherwise, and appointed Mr. Pond, the Astronomer-Royal, to the charge. Soon after another important vacancy occurred by the death of Mr. Fallows, who had charge of the observatory at the Cape of Good Hope; and on the Admiralty offering it to Mr. Henderson, he closed with the proposal, and repaired to the Cape in 1832, although it was to sojourn among strangers, and with a disease of the heart, which, he knew, might at any time prove fatal. His scientific exertions during his short residence at the Cape of Good Hope, attested his self-devoted zeal in behalf of astronomy; for, independently of his official duties, the mass of observations and calculations which he had stored up, would have sufficed for the lifetime of a less earnest astronomer. Such incessant labour proved too much for his constitution, and in little more than a year he was obliged to return home, where, fixing his residence in Edinburgh, he devoted himself to the task of arranging the large mass of valuable materials which he had collected at the Cape. While he was thus employed, an agreement was entered into, in 1834, between the government and the Astronomical Institution of Edinburgh, by which the Institution agreed to give up the use of their observatory on the Calton Hill to the University, while the government engaged to convert it into a public institution, furnish it with suitable instruments, and provide for an observer and assistant. This movement made it necessary to fill up the professorship of practical astronomy, which had been vacant sixteen years; and on Lord Melbourne applying to the Astronomical Society of London for advice upon the subject, Mr. Henderson was recommended to the chair, to which he was appointed, with the honorary office of Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, being the first that had held it. Having thus obtained a situation that realized the *beau idéal* of his ambition for scientific distinction, opportunities of study, and means of comfort, he, in 1836, married Miss Adie, eldest daughter of Mr. Adie, the talented inventor of the spyglassometer.

Hitherto we have scarcely alluded to Professor Henderson's astronomical writings, upon which his fame depends. A list of these, however, amounting to upwards of seventy communications, has been published in the "Annual Report of the Astronomical Society for 1845." To these also must be added his five volumes of observations from the Calton Hill, which were made between the years 1834 and 1839, as well as the selections from them which were given to the world after his death. To all this labour, the exactness, and, in many cases, the originality of which is more wonderful than the amount, great as it was for so short a life, he brought that methodical diligence and application which he had acquired in youth at the desk of a writer, and through which he became a prosperous lawyer. It was not merely in astronomical calculation that he excelled; the different departments of natural science also had occupied his studies, so that at different periods he was enabled to supply the places of the professors of mathematics and natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. His death, which was sudden, and occasioned by that disease of the heart under which he had laboured for years, occurred on the 23d of November, 1844.

HEPBURNE, JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL.—Little is known of the early career of this man, who holds so unenviable a place in the annals of Scotland. A considerable portion of his youth appears to have been spent in France, where he not only acquired the accomplishments, but learned those profligate habits by which the French court was distinguished. Fatally, indeed, was the nature of this training afterwards illustrated! His first return from that country to Scotland was in 1580, at which time he is thus characterized by Throckmorton in a letter to Queen Elizabeth: "He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man, and therefore it were meet his adversaries should both have an eye to him, and also keep him short." Six years afterwards, when he stood more distinctly out to public notice, Cecil wrote of him: "I assure you Bothwell is as naughty a man as liveth, and much given to the detestable vices." After events showed but too well that this was neither the language of prejudices nor malignity. It is probable that he was now about the age of thirty. He does not appear to have been distinguished for personal beauty, having, on the contrary, rather an ill-favoured countenance; but his ingratiating arts and showy manners were more than enough to counterbalance any defects of personal appearance. The outbreak that ended in the Chace-about-raid, which was so unfortunate to the Earl of Murray and his party, was of the utmost benefit to his enemy, the Earl of Bothwell; he was called to court, restored to his hereditary office of Lord High Admiral of Scotland, and appointed Lieutenant of the West and Middle Marches. He was not long idle, for we find him in the field with the queen about three weeks after, when Murray's dispirited troops fled before her and took refuge in England. When the assassination of David Rizzio occurred, Bothwell, who was in the Palace of Holyrood at the commencement of the uproar, and heard the distant outcries that accompanied the deed, put himself, with the Earl of Huntly, at the head of the menials, who had snatched up whatever kitchen weapons came first to hand, and hurried to the rescue; but this motley band was easily dispersed by the armed retainers of the Earl of Morton, who were stationed at the inner court. On this occasion Bothwell and Huntly, finding themselves prisoners in the palace, and fearing that their own death was to follow the assassination of Rizzio, descended from the back windows by a cord, and made their escape through the fields. After this event it soon appeared that Bothwell was to enter into the place, and enjoy the envied favour, which the unfortunate Italian had held, let the termination be what it might. He was called to the queen's counsels, and every day he rose in her esteem, while her contempt of Darnley increased. It was easy, indeed, for a woman's eye—and such a woman as Mary—to distinguish between the shallow-minded poltroon whom she had placed by her side on the throne, and the bold, gay, chivalrous courtier, who added to the graces of his continental manners and education the unscrupulous ambition of the Frenchman and the daring courage of the Scot. Unfortunate it was for Mary that her education, and the examples by which her youth had been surrounded, had little qualified her either to regulate such feelings or check them at the commencement, and her admiration was soon followed by a culpable affection, which at last she was unable to conceal, even from the most unsuspecting of her subjects. At the beginning of October (1566) she had resolved to make a justiciary progress to Jedburgh, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the border chieftains on the south eastern frontier; and, as a preparative, she sent Bothwell thither, two days previous, with the title and authority of Lord-Lieutenant of the Border. But on reaching his destina-

tion he was so severely wounded by a desperate freebooter, whom he endeavoured to apprehend with his own hand, that he was obliged to be carried to the neighbouring Castle of Hermitage. Mary, who was then at the Castle of Borthwick, no sooner heard of his disaster than, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the danger of such a journey, and the smallness of her train, she hurried with all speed to Jedburgh, and from thence to Hermitage, to visit him. A dangerous fever was the consequence of this violent exertion, under which she was insensible for several days at Jedburgh; and on recovering her consciousness, she was so impressed with the thought that death was at hand, that she requested the nobles who were present to pray for her, commended her son to the guardianship of Queen Elizabeth, and sent for her neglected husband, who arrived two days after the crisis had passed. But now that the danger was over, she received him with her wonted aversion, and treated him with such discourtesy as made him glad, on the following day, to set off to Stirling. But very different was the reception of Bothwell, whom she caused to be brought to her own temporary residence until he was fully recovered. The same marked difference in the conduct of the queen towards her husband and her paramour, was equally apparent in the baptism of her son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. On such an important occasion the father of the child, whatever might have been his faults, should have been a prominent personage in the ceremonial. But no. Bothwell was placed in his room as master of the arrangements, while poor Darnley, though living under the same roof (the Castle of Stirling), was required to confine himself to his apartments, on the plea that his apparel was not good enough to appear among the lordly throng at the baptismal font. And this was not all, for the ambassadors assembled there were forbid to hold conference with him, and the nobility to wait on him or escort him. Even James Melvil, who had compassionated the poor fallen consort-king, and presented him with a spaniel, was rated by the queen for so doing, declaring that she could no longer trust him, as he had made a present to one for whom she entertained no affection.

Bothwell was not a man to bear these honours meekly, or content himself with the love of the queen without sharing in her power. Already, also, he knew too well her wishes on the subject. She would have divorced Darnley to make room for his rival, but besides the difficulty of procuring a divorce, the legitimacy of her son would thereby have been called in question. No remedy remained but the death of Darnley, let it occur as it might. Upon this hint Bothwell was now in action. He sounded the principal nobles upon the expediency of removing him, alleging the queen's consent to that effect, and besought their co-operation. He spoke to those whose minds were already familiar with the idea of assassination, and whose power, when banded together, could brave discovery when it ensued, while so many concurred in his design that he thought he might now prosecute it without scruple. As for the poor victim of these machinations, he had left Stirling; the queen, at his departure, causing his silver plate to be taken away, and paltry tin vessels to be substituted in their stead. He had fallen sick when he was scarcely a mile on his journey, and on reaching Glasgow eruptions resembling the small-pox broke out over his whole body, and confined him to a sick-bed. But, in the meantime, the plot against his life was so fully matured that nothing more remained than to bring him within reach of his murderer. Mary repaired to Glasgow to persuade him to return with her, and take up his abode in the Castle of Craigmillar, in the neighbour-

hood of Edinburgh, where his recovery would be more speedy, and Darnley, allured by her kind words and relenting endearments, assented to all her wishes. He had received, indeed, some obscure intimations of a conspiracy formed against his life, and been warned that the queen had spoken harshly of him previous to her journey; but while she sat beside his bed, and addressed him so tenderly, all his first love returned, so that he treated these reports as idle tales. As for Mary, on retiring from his company she wrote a full account of the whole interview to Bothwell; and so completely was the after-tragedy settled between them, that she alluded to his contemplated divorce from Lady Jane Gordon and marriage with herself, and besought him neither to be moved from his purpose by his wife's tears nor her brother's threats. Soon after Darnley, not yet recovered, was removed in a litter from Glasgow to Edinburgh, not, however, to be accommodated in the princely castle of Craigmillar, but an obscure habitation called Kirk of Field, belonging to one of Bothwell's creatures; a place sufficiently within reach of Edinburgh, but lonely enough for the perpetration of a deed of murder.

So fully was the plan already matured, that Bothwell had false keys made of the house, and sent to Dunbar for a barrel of gunpowder, that was to be placed under Darnley's apartment. Matters now began to look so mysterious, that some of the king's servants, under that vague inexplicable terror which often precedes some terrible tragic deed, withdrew their attendance. Not so, however, the queen, who continued to lavish upon him every assurance of endearment, and spent two nights in an apartment adjoining his own. On Sunday night Darnley was to be no more; and while she was spending the evening with him in his room upstairs, the preparations were silently going on in the apartment below; and at ten o'clock the gunpowder was strewn in heaps upon the floor, and all put in readiness for the explosion, after which Bothwell's servant, Paris, a chief actor in the deed, entered the room above, where the pair were conversing. Mary, only the night before, had caused a bed of new velvet to be removed from the room, and also a rich coverlet of fur; and it was now full time that she should remove herself also. She then called to mind that she had promised to be at a masquerade in Holyroodhouse, that was to be given in honour of the marriage of her servant Bastian, with Margaret Carwood, a favourite female attendant, and passed onward to Holyrood with torch-light. When she was gone, an hour intervened before Darnley retired to bed, during which he entertained his servants, in the full overflow of his gladness, with an account of the queen's gracious speeches before they parted, and the hopes of his return to favour and influence. But one part of the interview still strangely haunted him, and marred his triumph. Why had the queen reminded him that, just at the same time a twelvemonth back, David Rizzio had been assassinated—that deed of which his conscience told him he had been the chief promoter? Ill at ease with the past, and having a gloomy anticipation about the future, he turned to the Bible for consolation, and read the 55th Psalm, after which he went to bed, and was soon overtaken by his last sleep.

In the meantime, the return of Mary to Holyrood was a signal to Bothwell that all was in readiness. After lingering in the hall until about midnight, when the most wakeful in Edinburgh were usually asleep, he exchanged his rich gala dress for a common suit, in which he could not easily be recognized, stole out of the back of the palace through the garden, and accompanied by four

of his servants, went through the gate of the Nether Bow, giving to the sentinel's question of "Who goes there?" the answer of "Friends of Lord Bothwell." Between the hours of two and three, a terrible explosion shook the houses nearest the Kirk of Field, and roused the townsmen from their slumbers, while the assassins ran back to the city, and re-entered Holyrood as stealthily as they had left it. A crowd of citizens, whom the din had alarmed, repaired to the spot, and found the house a heap of ruin, and the bodies of the king and the page of his chamber lying dead in a neighbouring orchard. But it was remarked that neither the corpses nor their night-clothes were scorched with powder, and that they were too far from the house to have been thrown there by the explosion; it was evident that other and surer agencies had been at work, and that gunpowder had been resorted to, merely to mislead inquiry, or make the deed appear the work of accident. The full particulars that afterwards came out on trial justified these surmises. Darnley had been strangled, and, as it was asserted, by the hands of Bothwell himself; the page had undergone the same fate; and the bodies being afterwards removed into the orchard, the match had been lighted that communicated with the gunpowder. While the crowd were still gazing upon the ruins, and bewildering themselves in speculation, Bothwell himself arrived among them at the head of a party of soldiers. On returning to Holyrood, he had gone to bed, that he might receive the expected tidings like an innocent man; and when, half-an-hour afterwards, a hasty messenger knocked at his door, and told him what had happened, he shouted, "Treason!" repaired with the Earl of Huntly to the queen to advertise her of the misfortune, and afterwards passed on to the spot, as if anxious to hold inquest upon the fact, and discover the authors of the deed. But he only dispersed the crowd, whose sharp curiosity he must have felt unpleasant, and caused the bodies to be removed to a neighbouring house, where no one was permitted to see them. That of Darnley was soon after carried to the palace; and, instead of an honourable funeral, such as was befitting a king-consort, it was carried at night by pioneers, and interred without solemnity beside the grave of David Rizzio.

As soon as tidings of the murder had reached her, Mary shut herself up in her apartment, where she would admit no one to see her but Bothwell, or hold intercourse with any of her servants but through himself. According to the custom of the country, forty days should have been spent in seclusion and mourning, with closed doors and windows; but on the fourth day the windows were unshaded, and before the twelfth she repaired with Bothwell to Seton Castle, where they mingled in the gay amusements of the place, shot at the butts, in trials of archery with Huntly and Seton, and crowned their victory with the forfeit of the losers, which was a dinner at Tranent. In the meantime, was any diligence, or even show of diligence, given to apprehend the murderers? Strange to tell, it was not until three days after the deed that such a step was taken; and on Wednesday, the 12th of February, a proclamation was made, offering a reward of two thousand pounds (Scotch?) for the detection of the criminals. No sooner was this done than every tongue was ready to name the name of Bothwell. But the bold bad man was too powerful to be accused, as well as too unscrupulous to be provoked, and no one was found so hardy as to step forth to criminate him. Still it was impossible for the general suspicion to remain wholly silent, and while voices were heard in the darkness of midnight through the streets proclaiming Bothwell to be the king's murderer, placards and pictures were affixed on the public places to the same effect. It

was then only that judicial activity, which had hitherto slumbered, was roused to detect the libellers; and such of the citizens as could write a fair hand, or limn a sketch, were submitted to a sharp examination, while an edict was published denouncing the punishment of death, not only to the writers, but the readers of these libels. Bothwell, also, alarmed at these indications of public feeling, rode into Edinburgh with fifty armed men at his back, warning publicly that he would wash his hands in the blood of these traducers, and clutching the hilt of his dagger in guilty suspicion when he spoke to any one of whose good will he was not certain. At length a movement was made to convict him, and from the proper quarter, by the Earl of Lennox, father of the murdered king. On the 20th of February he wrote to the queen, entreating that a public assize should immediately be held on the subject of his son's assassination; but to this most reasonable request, Mary sent for answer that the Parliament had already been invoked, and that its first business on meeting should be an inquiry into the deed. Now, be it observed, that this meeting of Parliament was not to take place till Easter; and during the interval that elapsed, most of the persons implicated in the charge were quietly allowed to depart, some to France, and others to the English border. And all this Mary did, notwithstanding the suspicions of her subjects, who had no scruple to charge her as an accomplice in her husband's murder; notwithstanding the astonishment of foreign courts, that could not comprehend her wonderful remissness; and notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Queen Elizabeth, who adjured her to act on this occasion "like a noble princess and a loyal wife." In the meantime, she seemed to have no thought but for Bothwell, and, notwithstanding the general odium, she conferred upon him the command of the Castle of Edinburgh, and soon after that of the castles of Blackness and the Inch, and the superiority of Leith, as if eager to arm him against every accuser, and make him too powerful to be punished.

As the cry still waxed louder for a public trial, it was thought that this might now be safely granted; and so late as the 12th of April, the Earl of Lennox was ordered to compare in Edinburgh, and adduce his charges against Bothwell. But the accomplices in the crime had been suffered to escape; the other evidences had been destroyed; even the smith who had made the false keys by which the murderers obtained access to the king's lodging, and who had anonymously offered to come forward and reveal the name of his employer, if his safety should be guaranteed for so doing, had obtained no such promise, and therefore could not make his appearance. Under such circumstances, and after so long a delay, the invitation to the Earl of Lennox was the most cruel of mockeries. The trial was arranged by Bothwell himself; the tribunal was occupied by one of his friends, and fenced with 200 of his hachbutter; 4000 armed men, devoted to Bothwell, occupied the streets of Edinburgh, and the castle was under his command. Thus prepared, the accusing party was wholly at his mercy, for Lennox was required to enter the city with not more than six in his company. To come under such circumstances would have been to enter into the shambles, where all was in readiness for the slaughter, and Lennox refused to appear. But Bothwell himself rode to trial, mounted on the late king's horse, and surrounded by a guard, and fearlessly advanced before a tribunal where he had taken order that none should accuse him. The trial that followed was a farce, in which the criminal had nothing to do but to plead "not guilty," and the judges to absolve him, which was done unanimously. To wind up the whole

proceeding in the fashion of the age, Bothwell then offered the trial of combat to any one of his degree who should charge him with the late king's murder, but the challenge was nothing more than the idle blast of a trumpet, for he was not likely to find an opponent where he had met with no accuser.

After this mock trial, new honours were heaped upon Bothwell by the queen; the lordship and Castle of Dunbar were conferred upon him, his powers as high admiral were extended, and on the assembling of Parliament, two days after the assize, he carried "the honours," that is, the crown and sceptre before her in procession at the opening of the House. He was now the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, and only one step more remained to which all this aggrandizement had been but a preparative. He must be king-consort in the room of Darnley, whom he had murdered. True, he had been but lately married to Lady Jane Gordon, and her brother, the Earl of Huntly, was not a man to be lightly offended; but even these difficulties had been already calculated, and the plan of their removal devised. The marriage tie was to be loosed by a divorce, and the brother appeased by the restitution of the Huntly estates, which had been forfeited to the crown. But to win the consent of the nobility at large, whose united opposition could have checked him at any moment, or crushed him even when the eminence was attained, was the principal difficulty; and this Bothwell resolved to surmount by the same unscrupulous daring that had hitherto borne him onward. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, the day on which the sittings of Parliament terminated, he invited the chief nobles to supper in a tavern; they assembled accordingly, and when their hearts were warmed with wine, Bothwell presented to them a bond for signature, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen, and engaged to maintain his pretensions to her hand against all who should oppose them. Confusion and remonstrance followed, but the house was surrounded by 200 hacbutters, so that escape was hopeless, and remonstrance unavailing. The revellers therefore complied with the demand, and the signatures of eight earls, three lords, and seven bishops were adhibited to the bond.

And now nothing but the master-stroke remained. The marriage must be accomplished without delay, before a recoil of public feeling occurred. But Mary had been little more than two months a widow; and if she should thus hastily throw aside her weeds, and enter into a new union, the whole world would cry "shame" upon such indecency! Even this difficulty had been already provided for, and that, too, seven days before Bothwell's trial occurred. Certain beforehand of his acquittal, he had devised, and Mary consented, that he should carry her off by force, and thus save her the odium of a free deliberate choice. Even the time and place of abduction were also contrived between them. Accordingly, on the 21st of April the queen repaired to Stirling Castle to visit her infant son, then under the guardianship of the Earl of Mar; but the earl, who seems to have had strange misgivings, would only admit her with two of her ladies, while the armed train were obliged to remain without. Three days afterwards she returned, and had reached Almond Bridge, near Edinburgh, when she and her escort were suddenly beset by Bothwell and 600 armed horsemen, who conducted her to the Castle of Dunbar. And now events went on with accelerated speed. The earl's divorce from his wife was hurried through the courts with scandalous haste, the lady being obliged to accuse him of adultery and incest for the purpose. And on the same day Bothwell and the queen returned to Edinburgh at the head of a numerous cavalcade, the earl leading her horse by

the bride, and his followers throwing away their spears, to show that she was unconstrained; and in this fashion they rode up to the Castle of Edinburgh. As soon as tidings of her seizure had arrived, her friends offered to arm for her rescue; but to this she answered, that though taken against her will, and compelled to spend several days in the Castle of Dunbar with Bothwell, she had found no cause of complaint. This was not all; for she now presented herself before the nobles, expressed her satisfaction with Bothwell's conduct, and declared that, high as she had raised him, she meant to promote him higher still. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, seven days after her return to Edinburgh, she created him Duke of Orkney, and placed the coronet on his head with her own hands; two days afterwards she signed the contract of marriage, and on the succeeding day the marriage ceremony was performed in Holyrood, at four o'clock in the morning. And this after three short months of widowhood! Well might the people shudder, especially when they remembered the disgusting mixture of tragedy and farce with which it had been preceded. And still the nobles were silent under a deed that soiled, nay, besmeared the escutcheons of Scottish knighthood and nobleness with a universal reproach, which all the rivers of their land could not wash away. Only one man, and he, too, a minister of peace, had courage to speak out. This was John Craig, pastor of the High Church of Edinburgh, and colleague of John Knox, who was now absent. On being commanded to proclaim the banns between the queen and Bothwell, he steadfastly refused until he had been allowed to confront the parties in presence of the Privy Council; and when this was granted, he there charged the Duke of Orkney with the crimes of rape, adultery, and murder. This being done, he proclaimed the banns, as he was bound to do, but not without a stern remonstrance. "I take heaven and earth to witness," he exclaimed before the congregation in the High Church, "that I abhor and detest this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Bothwell had now attained an elevation at which himself might well have been astounded. Sprung from no higher origin than that of the house of Hailes, and but the fourth of his line who had worn the title of earl, he was now the highest of Scotland's nobles, and, what was more, the sovereign of its sovereign. She to whom he was united had been Queen of France, the most powerful of kingdoms, and was the unquestioned heir to England, the richest of sovereignties. She who had been sought in vain by the proudest princes of Europe had come at his call, and co-operated in humble compliance to his exaltation, and submitted to be his leman before she became his bride. And yet even this did not satisfy him; for on the very day after their marriage she was heard to scream in her closet, while he was beside her, and threaten to stab or drown herself. He persisted from day to day in arrogant conduct, more befitting a sated voluptuary or merciless taskmaster than a newly-mated bridegroom; and Mary, otherwise so proud and impatient, submitted with spaniel-like docility, while her affection seemed only to increase in proportion to the growth of his brutality. Strange love of woman's heart! and strange requital of a love so misplaced! She was all the while writing to France, to Rome, and England announcing her marriage, describing her happiness in having such a husband, and craving the favour of these courts in his behalf. She even declared before

several persons that "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and would go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat before she would leave him."

This Fata Morgana had now reached its brightest, and it was time that it should melt away. The nobles of Scotland awoke as from a dream, and prepared themselves for instant action. It was indeed not more than necessary; for, independently of the foul dishonour that had accumulated upon the nation and themselves through the late transactions, Bothwell was now aiming at obtaining the guardianship of the young prince; and under such a custody the royal infant would soon have been laid beside his murdered father, that a new dynasty might be planted upon the Scottish throne. In the meantime, the queen and Bothwell were at Borthwick Castle, unconscious of the gathering storm, until the associated lords, at the head of 2000 men, advanced and invested the stronghold. As resistance was hopeless, Bothwell, at the first tidings of their coming, stole away, and soon after was joined by Mary, booted and spurred, and in the disguise of a page. They rode through the night at full speed to Dunbar, and there exerted themselves with such activity, that in two days they were at the head of 2500 armed followers, with whom they returned to the encounter. The lords, whose forces now amounted to 3000 men, advanced to meet them mid-way, and the two armies soon confronted each other at Carberry Hill, six miles from Edinburgh. But very different was the spirit that animated them, for while the insurgent army was eager to revenge the death of the late king, and preserve his son from the murderer, the troops of Bothwell wavered, and talked of negotiation and compromise. It was necessary to restore their courage by an example of personal daring, and accordingly he sent a herald to the opposite host, offering the trial of single combat in proof of his innocence. Instantly, James Murray of Tullibardin started forward as an opponent, but was rejected by Bothwell as being not his equal in rank. Murray's elder brother, William, the laird of Tullibardin, then offered himself, alleging that he was of an older house than that of his adversary; but him also Bothwell refused, claimed an earl for his opponent, and specified in particular the Earl of Morton, the leader of the insurgents. Morton, as fearless a Douglas as any of his ancestors, accepted the challenge, and prepared for a combat at *outrance* on foot, and with two-handed swords. But before he could step forth to the affray, Lord Lindsay, the Ajax of the Scottish Reformation interposed, with the entreaty that he should be allowed to meet the challenger, as being the kinsman of the unfortunate Darnley. Morton assented, and armed him with the two-handed sword of that Douglas who was called Bell-the-Cat. But here Mary interfered: she had no wish to expose her husband to a meeting with such a redoubted champion, and Bothwell yielded to her entreaties. His repeated hesitations, when he should at once have drawn his weapon and marched to the encounter, had so confirmed the timidity of his followers, that already most of them had disbanded, leaving none with him but sixty gentlemen and a band of hacbutters, while the opposite army were surrounding the hill, and cutting off the means of retreat. In this emergency, nothing remained for Bothwell but flight, which the queen earnestly counselled: she would surrender to the lords, and win them back to their allegiance; after which his recal would be easy, and their future course a happy one. After assuring him of her fidelity, which she would keep to the last, and giving her hand upon the promise, Bothwell rode from the field, accompanied by a few

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